

GENERAL SIR HENRY HAVELOCK, K.C.B.



Engraved by D. J. Pound from a Photograph by Mayall.

LORD VISCOUNT CANNING,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

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VIEW OF CALCUTTA FROM THE ESPLANADE.

No. 2.



MASSACRE IN THE BOATS OFF CAWNPORE.



DEFEAT OF THE SEALKOTE MUTINEERS BY GENERAL NICHOLSON'S COLUMN.



NIGHT SORTIE AND ATTACK ON BAGGAGE WAGGONS.



COLONEL PLATT KILLED BY THE MUTINEERS AT MHOW.



HAVELOCK'S COLUMN ATTACKING THE MUTINEERS BEFORE CAWNPOOR.

formation of the petitioners, "That although the offer of their services is very creditable to them, and the governor-general in council gladly acknowledges their soldierlike offer, it is at present necessary that they should continue to do duty at Barrackpore, from which place it is not convenient to move them."

By the latter end of May, the following European troops had reached Calcutta. About 380 men of her majesty's 35th foot from Rangoon; the 1st Madras European fusiliers, and a wing of the 64th foot, from Bushire; and the 84th regiment, with a company of artillery, also from Rangoon; 500 of the 37th regiment had also been forwarded from Ceylon; and the 78th highlanders from Bombay were also within a few hours' distance of the metropolis of Bengal. Of these troops, the 1st fusiliers, and a company of the 84th regiment, had been pushed on to Cawnpore by horse dâk, bullock-train, and steamers, in consequence of the subjoined communication from Sir H. Wheler, in command at that station, dated "Cawnpore, May 31st, 2.30 P.M."—"I would recommend Europeans to be sent up to this place as rapidly as possible; not so much for our own protection, as—to use the exact words of the major—'this place is the trunk, and the surrounding stations are the limbs; and if Cawnpore remains quiet, the other places will do so also.' We are all right as yet, and I hope may continue so." A subsequent message of the same date says—"We are quiet here; and accounts from Delhi received from the lieutenant-governor, are what might be expected; the mutineers purchasing gold even at enormous prices, and deserting to their homes."

The communication between Meerut and Agra, and between the former place and Cawnpore, had been entirely interrupted since the 20th of May by the loss of Allygurh, and the disorganised state of the country between Meerut and that place, consequent upon the revolt; which rendered the transmission of intelligence extremely precarious and irregular for a considerable period.

CHAPTER XI.

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AT SIMLA; DISTRIBUTION OF THE BENGAL ARMY; UNPOPULARITY OF GENERAL ANSON; THE NATIVE CONTINGENTS; A DEFECTIVE COMMISSARIAT; PANIC AT SIMLA; REPORT OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ON THE STATE OF THE ARMY; GENERAL ORDER TO THE NATIVE REGIMENTS; CONCENTRATION OF EUROPEAN TROOPS AT UMBALLAH; ADVANCE TO KURNAUL; DEATH OF GENERAL ANSON; SIR PATRICK GRANT NAMED ACTING COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN INDIA; MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. BARNARD TAKES THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY FOR DELHI; ADVANCE OF THE MEERUT DIVISION UNDER BRIGADIER WILSON; ACTIONS AT GHAZEE-UD-DEEN NUGGUR; JUNCTION WITH THE FORCE UNDER SIR H. BARNARD AT ALLIPORE; MARCH TOWARDS DELHI; DEFEAT OF THE INSURGENT TROOPS AT BADULEE KE SERAI; THE REBELS DRIVEN FROM THE HEIGHTS NEAR DELHI; POSITION OF THE AVENGING ARMY BEFORE DELHI ON THE 8TH OF JUNE; OFFICIAL DESPATCHES, AND PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

HAVING left the rebel troops in possession of Delhi on the 12th of May, busily occupied in strengthening the defences of the city against the approach of the avenging army, whose speedy appearance was looked for with well-grounded apprehension and dismay—we proceed to trace the movements of the British troops, as they were gradually collected from distant parts of the presidency for the stern purpose of retributive justice.

The commander-in-chief of the Bengal army, General the Hon. George Anson, was, as we have already stated, at Simla on the 12th of May,* where he received intelligence of the outbreak and revolt at Meerut and Delhi, and immediately removed his head-quarters to Umballah, at which place he began to organise his resources for the suppression of disorder; but his position at the time was one of extreme difficulty and embarrassment. General Anson was literally, at this juncture, a commander-in-chief without an available army, artillery, or ammunition. The two regiments of native troops at Umballah could not be relied on; and his chief arsenal and

* See *ante*, p. 110.

both sexes, who the day previous would have been shocked at the idea of walking a mile, actually, in their flight, accomplished fifteen, thirty, and in some cases forty, miles! Old men, decrepid with age and shaken by disease, went off as best they could; and the road, from Simla to Dugshaie, was thronged with fugitives of all ages and conditions. Under a burning sun, with no protection from its rays, whole families were to be seen pouring along, half dead from terror and fatigue; and weak and helpless women bivouacked on the open ground, with little but the bare earth for a pillow. For twenty-four hours the panic continued to urge them forward. "On, on to Dugshaie!" was the cry; "the Ghoorkas have slaughtered all who were mad enough to remain at Simla, and they are in close pursuit to massacre us!" The panic at length died away from sheer exhaustion. By degrees the fugitives discovered that their alarm was groundless, and they returned to the indulgences of Simla, to laugh and be laughed at for their credulity.

On the 19th of May, the commander-in-chief transmitted the following intelligence from Umballah to the governor-general:—"All quiet here. Affairs do not go on well; the feeling of the native army may be a little improved, but none can be trusted. The two regiments here profess that they will go where, and do what, they are ordered; they express regret for having committed themselves for a moment. They have since behaved well; and however dangerous it may be to take them with the small force we have to Delhi [*sic* in orig.]—one regiment—they would quietly lay down their arms and go to their homes, and not turn against us. Our European troops will not act with the same confidence if they are with them; we cannot leave them behind without a sufficient number of Europeans to control them. Pray answer this. The country is very disturbed; the communication with Meerut difficult. I hope this will be remedied, having such a force at Kurnaul. We cannot move at present for want of tents and carriages; it would destroy Europeans to march without both, and we have no men to spare. I see the risk of going to Delhi with such small means as we have—perhaps 2,500 Europeans; for should they suffer any loss it would be serious, having nothing more to depend upon in the North-West Provinces; but it must be done. I have not heard from below Delhi, or from the lieutenant-governor: it would be important to have his views on the subject; for the troops should be brought from Persia, and those going to China should be stopped at Singapore. I hope we may hold on till the crisis is past. We must not omit any means of increasing our European strength. Since this message was begun I have heard from the chief commissioner of the Punjab. He recommends strongly that an order be issued giving up the new cartridge. I have adopted this advice, and sent it to you by telegraph. I hope the government will approve. If it is, you can publish it at once, and transmit it to all divisions in Bengal. It will be read to the native regiments here this evening."

The following is the general order referred to in the communication of General Anson, dated "Head-quarters, Umballah, May 19th, 1857:"—

"The commander-in-chief, on the 14th of May, issued a general order, informing the native army that it had never been the intention of the governor-general to force them to use any cartridges which could be objected to; that they never would be, either now or hereafter. The object in publishing that order was to allay the excitement which had been raised in their minds, although he felt there was no real cause for it. He hopes that this may have been the case; but he still perceives that the very name of new cartridges causes agitation; and has been informed, that some of those sepoys who entertain the strongest attachment and loyalty to government, and are ready at any moment to obey its orders, would still be under apprehension that their families would not believe that they were not, in some way or other, contaminated by its use. The rifle introduced into the British army is an improvement upon the old musket, and much more effective; but it would not be of the same advantage in the hands of the natives, if it were to be used with reluctance. Notwithstanding, therefore, that the government have affirmed that the cartridge is perfectly harmless, he is satisfied that they would not desire to persist in the use of it, if the feelings of the sepoys can be thereby calmed. His excellency, therefore, has determined that the new cartridge shall be discontinued. He announces this to the native army, in the full confidence that all will now perform their duty, free from anxiety or care, and be prepared to stand and shed the last drop

of their blood, as they have formerly done, by the side of the British troops, and in defence of their country."

The obstacles in the way of active operations still continued to perplex and retard the arrangements of the commander-in-chief; and on the 20th, he again communicated with the governor-general upon the difficulties that surrounded him. His excellency telegraphed thus:—"The three European regiments from the hills assembled here on the 17th. Four companies of the 1st Europeans, one squadron of 9th lancers, and two guns of horse artillery, went on the same night to Kurnaul; hope they have stopped the plundering in that quarter. I shall move on towards Delhi with the remainder of the European force, except a wing left for the protection of Umballah, and four guns, as soon as possible, but there have been great difficulties in procuring carriage. I have sent to Phillour for a few heavy guns, as with the small force at command, and no more Europeans to rely upon, it will be advisable to have every man as much as we can [*sic* in orig.] I expect to be able to move about the 23rd. I am anxious to hear from you, and have your views as to what should be done in this crisis. At the recommendation of the chief commissioner (Punjab), I have issued a general order giving up the use of the new cartridge, and every new cartridge entirely. —— says this must be done, or the irregulars may follow the example of the regulars. I have, therefore, taken upon myself this responsibility. We have two regiments of native infantry here, outwardly loyal, and I shall be obliged to take one with me, and leave one here. This is a great misfortune, as it shakes the confidence of the European troops; but they have been behaving well, and have not committed themselves. I hope to hear from you."

On the 23rd of May, the commander-in-chief transmitted to Major-general Hewitt, commanding the Meerut division, the following detail of his proposed arrangements for the movement of the troops upon Delhi:—

"My dear General,—I wish to place you in possession of what has been done and is doing here, and of my ideas with respect to the future movements of the force from Meerut, which will be required to join this column in its advance towards Delhi.

"The force from Umballah consists of the 9th lancers, one squadron 4th lancers, her majesty's 75th foot, 1st European regiment, 2nd European regiment, 60th native infantry, two troops of horse artillery. They are formed into two small brigades. Brigadier Halifax commands the 1st, composed of two squadrons of lancers, her majesty's 75th foot, 1st Europeans, 3rd troop 3rd brigade horse artillery of six guns. Brigadier Jones will command the 2nd brigade—2nd Europeans, 60th native infantry, two squadrons 9th lancers, one squadron 4th lancers, 2nd troop 3rd brigade horse artillery, six guns.

"Four companies 1st fusiliers, one squadron of 9th lancers, two guns, horse artillery, were moved to Kurnaul on the 17th, and arrived on the 20th. Six companies of 1st fusiliers followed on the 21st. Her majesty's 75th foot and 60th regiment native infantry march on the 22nd. One squadron, 9th lancers and four guns, will march on the 24th or 25th. The above will all be at Kurnaul on the 28th. The 2nd Europeans, 3rd troop 3rd brigade horse artillery, will probably follow on the 26th. The whole will be at Kurnaul on the 30th.

"I propose then to advance with the column towards Delhi on the 1st, and be opposite to Bhagput on the 5th. At this last place, I should wish to be joined by the force from Meerut. To reach it, four days may be calculated on. This would require your movement on the 1st or 2nd, according to circumstances. By that time it is hoped you will have made every preparation. Irregular detachments have been sent on the road to beyond Paniput to stop plundering, and to protect the well-disposed.

"The road has also been opened to Meerut. Captain Sanford arrived here with your despatches early on the morning of the 23rd, and found no obstruction. A detachment of 150 sowars of the 4th irregular cavalry will leave Kurnaul to-morrow; twenty-five will be posted at Shamlee, fifty will proceed to Moozuffernuggur, to restore confidence in that district, and to punish any villagers and marauders that may have been concerned in the plundering of that place. I have directed seventy-five to proceed direct to Meerut, and to place themselves at your disposal; they will be under the command of a European officer. You will then be enabled to secure carriage for your troops, if you still require it. You must ascertain whether there are any difficulties on the road from Meerut to Bhagput, and the best mode of overcoming them.

"It would be very desirable to push for-

ward some *reconnaissance* to as near Delhi as possible. It is reported here that a detachment of the mutineers, with two guns, are posted on the Meerut side of the river. They should be captured, and no mercy must be shown to the mutineers. On the 20th, I sent a detachment of the 2nd company of the 5th native infantry and a squadron of the 4th lancers, towards Saharunpoor. I have the satisfaction of having heard that they arrived just in time to save that place from pillage, and that confidence is restored there. I hope that the occupation of Moozuffernuggur will tend to tranquillise that district. Many of the 5th native infantry have deserted, but it is gratifying to find they have done their duty when detached. Two companies have been sent to Roopur on duty. The remainder, with light companies of the 2nd European regiment, will be left to guard these cantonments. If any families at Meerut would consider themselves more secure in the hills, they might go there with safety.

"A small siege-train has left Loodiana, and is expected here on the 26th. It will require eleven days to get it to Delhi. It may join us at Bhagput on or about the 6th, the day after that I have named for the junction of your force. I depend upon your supplying at least 120 artillerymen to work it. You will bring besides, according to statement received, two squadrons of carabiniers, a wing of the 60th rifles, one light field battery, one troop of horse artillery, and any sappers you can depend upon; and of course the non-commissioned European officers belonging to them. I wish to know whether you have any information respecting troops or guns coming from Agra, or the co-operation of any native states.

"I beg you will communicate this to the lieutenant-governor at Agra, and to the secretary to government at Calcutta—telegraph and letter. Any change in the above shall be communicated to you instantly.

"I remain, &c.—George Anson."

On the 25th of May, the commander-in-chief telegraphed from Kurnaul to the secretary to the government, as follows:—"Came to Kurnaul this morning (May 25th); all the troops, except two European troops of horse artillery, waiting for equipment of 9-pounders, have left Umballah. Great difficulty in getting what was absolutely necessary to enable the troops to march. The detachment that was at Kurnaul sent towards Paniput last night; but the tents were not come up; they follow to-day. All the force will not get away from Kurnaul before the 31st instant. The heavy guns will hardly be up by that time. Have sent 154 irregulars, which arrived here yesterday, part to Moozuffernuggur, and part to Meerut. Putteeala troops are not so many as reported. I heard about 600. If instructions from governor-general are to be followed—namely, advance to be made with a strong British force—it cannot be at Delhi before the 8th proximo."

The siege-train from Philoor (Loodiana) arrived at Umballah on the 26th of May, as anticipated; and about the same time a flying column, under General Reed, advanced from Jhelum *en route* to Umballah. The force detached from Meerut, consisting of part of the 6th carabiniers and 60th rifles, under Brigadier Wilson, had already marched in the direction of the Hindun; and a column, consisting of two troops of horse artillery, the 9th lancers, one squadron of the 4th lancers, her majesty's 75th foot, the 1st European Bengal fusiliers, and six companies of the second regiment of fusiliers, were concentrated at Paniput, under the command of Major-general Sir Henry Barnard. The reserve of the Meerut division, which was ultimately to join the main body of the army at or near Paniput, comprised the remainder of the 6th carabiniers and 60th rifles, four guns of the horse artillery, one battery of 18-pounders, and the Simoor battalion of Ghoorkas; a flying column, consisting of two squadrons of her majesty's 14th light dragoons from Kirkee, the 19th and 25th Bombay native infantry from Poonah, the 4th European light field battery of artillery from Ahmednuggur, and the 3rd regiment of the Hyderabad contingent, had concentrated at Mhow, under the orders of General Woodburn, C.B.

Having made these arrangements for the guidance of the army of Delhi, the commander-in-chief had just learned the arrival, at head-quarters, of the siege-train from Philoor, when an attack of cholera put a sudden and fatal termination to his military anxieties, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the fourth of his chief command of the armies of India. The demise of his excellency was announced to the governor-general by the following communication from the adjutant-general of the army, to the secretary to the government, dated "Camp Kurnaul, May 27th, 1857:"—

"Sir,—I deeply regret to have to report, for the information of the governor-general in council, the death, at half-past two this morning, of his excellency the Hon. General George Anson,* commander-in-chief in India, from cholera. Major-general Sir Henry Barnard, K.C.B., is now in command of this force; and Major-general T. Reed, C.B., commanding in the Punjab, is the senior officer serving in the Bengal presidency. The head-quarters staff of the army will remain in attendance on Major-general Sir H. Barnard during the present operations, unless orders to the contrary should be received. A telegraphic message has this instant been received from Major-general Reed, in reply to the announcement of the commander-in-chief's demise, intimating his intention of joining this force.—I have, &c.,

"C. CHESTER, Colonel."

The information thus imparted appears to have been, from some cause or other, a considerable time in reaching the seat of government, or it was not thought to require immediate attention. On the 2nd of June, the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, writing from Agra to the governor-general in council, after expressing his regret at the sudden death of General Anson, concludes thus:—"The issue of an immediate nomination to the command-in-chief of the army, proceeding fast on Delhi, under General Anson's orders, is solicited. Indian ability and experience will be very valuable; but time is before all; every hour is precious."

This intimation was productive of immediate action; and at 1 P.M. of the following day (June 3rd), the telegraph at Calcutta transmitted the subjoined message from the secretary to government to the commander-in-chief at Madras.

"The governor-general directs me to acquaint your excellency, that General Anson, commander-in-chief in India, died of cholera at Umballah,† on the 27th ult.; and that the desire of his lordship in council is, that you should come to Calcutta by the earliest opportunity, to assume the office of acting commander-in-chief of the Bengal army."

On the 5th of June the official government notification of the death of General Anson, and the appointment of a successor to his important command, appeared in the following minute of the governor-general, concurred in by the members of council:—

"I propose that the melancholy event of the death of General Anson be publicly notified in the accompanying general order. It will be necessary at the same time to announce the appointment of General Reed, C.B., commanding the Peshawur division, to the post of provincial commander-in-chief. General Reed will hold this post until the arrival at the presidency of Lieutenant-general Sir Patrick Grant, commander-in-chief at Madras, whom it has been determined by the governor-general in council to place in the position of acting commander-in-chief in Bengal, pending the appointment of a successor to General Anson.

"As my honourable colleagues are aware, instructions have been already sent by telegraph to Major-general Sir Henry Barnard, to take the command of the force which the commander-in-chief was collecting against Delhi. Sir Henry Barnard's experience of India has been short; but this will not interfere with the success of an attack upon the mutineers in Delhi; and as he is at army head-quarters, or close at hand, the arrangement has the invaluable advantage of being the most saving of time.

"It will be right that Sir Henry Barnard's appointment to the command should be notified in general orders. Sir Henry Barnard has been directed to push on the operations against Delhi without waiting for the provincial commander-in-chief; and General Reed has been informed, that the

* General the Hon. George Anson was son of the first Viscount Anson, and uncle of the present Earl of Lichfield. He was born in 1797, and entered the army at an early age, serving throughout the Peninsular campaign, and in the closing fight at Waterloo. In 1830, he married a daughter of the first Baron Forester, who accompanied her husband to India on his appointment to the command-in-chief of the Bengal army; and had not long returned to this country, when his sudden death occurred. General Anson was clerk of the Ordnance, from 1842 to 1852, and sat in the House of Commons for Great Yarmouth, from 1818 to 1835; for Stoke-upon-Trent, from 1836 to 1837; and for South Staffordshire, from 1837 to 1853.

† It may be observed as singular, that although the announcement of General Anson's death, by the adjutant-general of the army, is dated from Kurnaul on the 27th of May, and the event is reported as having occurred at half-past two in the morning of that day, the government notifications invariably name "Umballah" as the station at which his demise took place. The distance between the two cantonments is about 50 miles.

command of the force is placed in Sir Henry Barnard's hands, to whom he is to give every assistance in his power."

The general order, dated "Fort William, June 5th, 1857," ran thus:—

"With deep sorrow the right honourable the governor-general in council discharges the painful duty of announcing to the army of India the death of his excellency General the Hon. George Anson, commander-in-chief of her majesty's and the honourable Company's forces in India. This sad event took place on the 27th ultimo at Umballah, after a short illness. In General Anson the army of India has lost a commander than whom none was ever more earnest and indefatigable in labouring to improve the condition, extend the comforts, and increase the efficiency, of every branch of the service committed to his charge. To the crown and the honourable East India Company, whom he has served so zealously, as well as to the troops who have been his unceasing care, General Anson's untimely end in the midst of arduous duties, will, the governor-general in council feels assured, be a source of the sincerest grief. The governor-general in council directs that, as a mark of respect to the late commander-in-chief, the flag of the fort shall to-morrow be hoisted half-mast high, and that seventeen minute-guns, according to the rank which he held, shall be fired from the fort. The same honours are to be paid to the memory of General Anson at each of the principal military stations in India on the receipt of this order. The governor-general in council further directs, that the officers of her majesty's and the honourable Company's army shall wear mourning for fourteen days from the day on which this order is received at their respective stations."

Another general order of the same date (June 5th), announced the following military appointments, consequent upon the death of General Anson:—

"The right honourable the governor-general of India in council, is pleased to direct that his excellency Lieutenant-general Sir Henry Somerset, K.C.B. and K.H., commander-in-chief of the Bombay army, the senior officer in India, shall assume the command of her majesty's and the honourable Company's forces in India until further orders. His lordship in council is pleased to make the following appointments:—Major-general T. Reed, C.B., her majesty's service, commanding the Peshawur division, the senior officer in Bengal, is appointed provincial commander-in-chief until the arrival at Calcutta of Lieutenant-general Sir P. Grant, K.C.B., commander-in-chief of the Madras army, whom it has been determined, by the governor-general in council, to place in the position of acting commander-in-chief in Bengal, pending the appointment of a successor to his excellency General the Hon. George Anson, deceased. Major-general Sir Henry Barnard, K.C.B., her majesty's service, commanding the Sirhind division, is appointed to take command of the field force proceeding against Delhi. Brigadier Sidney John Cotton to be a brigadier-general, and to command the Peshawur division during the time that Major-general Reed holds the office of provincial commander-in-chief."

Consequent on the arrangements of the late commander-in-chief, the force under General Reed had arrived at Goojranwalla, forty miles north of Lahore, by the 29th of the month, and the battalion of Ghoorkas, from Simla, reached the general rendezvous of the army of Delhi at Kurnaul, about the same time. The advanced division, consisting of the force from Meerut, under Brigadier-general Wilson, arrived at Ghazee-ud-deen Nuggur—a village situate on the Hindun, about fifteen miles from Delhi—on the morning of the 30th, and immediately detached two companies of the 60th rifles to take possession of the suspension-bridge, which at that place connects the Meerut and Delhi road, and formed the key to his position. The rebel forces having intrenched themselves at a convenient distance on the opposite side of the stream, a force, consisting of a squadron of carabiniers, with four guns, under the command of Major Tombs, was ordered to cross the river by a ford some distance below the bridge, with a view to turn the enemy's flank. Upon being discovered by the pickets of the mutinous troops, the alarm was given, and the heavy guns of the intrenchment immediately opened upon an advanced party of General Wilson's force, which was quickly supported by two more companies of the 60th rifles, with four guns of Major Scott's battery, the sappers, and a troop of carabiniers. At the same time, the insurgents came on in considerable force, with five guns; and a smart engagement immediately ensued; the front of the

enemy's column being met by the fire of the rifles; while the artillery and cavalry, from the ford, made a vigorous assault upon its flank. The guns of the mutineers, though well-handled at first, were speedily silenced by the greater accuracy and rapidity of the European artillery. The rifles, led by Colonel Jones, then charged in gallant style, and captured the five guns, at the same time inflicting severe punishment upon the enemy, whose columns had already began to waver. Unfortunately, at the moment of securing two heavy pieces of artillery planted on the causeway, an ammunition-waggon exploded, and blew up Captain Andrews and four privates of the 60th. Unable to resist the impetuosity of the European advance, the insurgents retired behind their intrenchments, through which they were pursued and cut up by the carabiniers under Colonel Custance. The retreat speedily became general; part of the rebel force rushing through a village themselves had previously set fire to, and in which many of them perished; and part taking to the open plain, where they were cut to pieces by the sabres of the dragoons. The loss on the side of the Europeans was comparatively trifling in point of numbers; and the following despatch from Brigadier Wilson to the adjutant-general, dated "Ghazee-ud-deen Nuggur, May 31st, 1857," presents the official details of the first regular engagement between a portion of the army of avengers and the troops of the king of Delhi:—

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of Major-general Sir H. Barnard, K.C.B., commanding the Umballah force, that, as reported in my brief despatch of last night, my advanced pickets were driven in at about four o'clock yesterday afternoon, and that I was attacked by a large force of mutineers, accompanied by heavy guns, from Delhi. I immediately sent off a company of her majesty's 60th royal rifles, with another in support, to hold the iron bridge, which is the key of my position, and I detached the four guns of Major Tombs' troop, supported by a squadron of carabiniers, right along the bank of the Hindun river.

"The insurgents opened upon these advanced parties with heavy guns. I ordered two more companies of the 60th to support their advance, and brought up four guns of Major Scott's battery, the sappers, and a troop of carabiniers to their support, leaving two guns and a troop of carabiniers to protect the camp. The first few rounds from the insurgents' guns were admirably aimed, plunging through our camp; but they were ably replied to by our two 18-pounders, in position under Lieutenant Light, and Major Tombs' troop, most admirably led by Lieutenant-colonel M. Mackenzie, who, raking them in flank with his 6-pounders, first made their fire unsteady, and in a short time silenced these heavy guns. On remarking the unsteadiness of their fire, I ordered Lieutenant-colonel Jones to advance his rifles, and attack. This was done in a most spirited manner. They drove the enemy from the guns; but in the act of taking possession of two heavy pieces on the causeway, close to the toll-house, I regret to say that Captain Andrews and four of his men were blown up by the explosion of an ammunition-waggon, fired by one of the mutineers.

"The insurgents were now in full retreat, leaving in our hands ordnance, ammunition, and stores, as detailed in the accompanying statement. They were followed for a considerable distance on the Delhi-road by Lieutenant-colonel Custance, commanding the carabiniers with the force. Where all behaved so well and showed such gallant conduct, it is almost invidious to particularise; but I wish to bring to Major-general Sir H. Barnard's notice, and through him to the commander of the forces, Lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie, 1st brigade horse artillery, who so ably led; Major Tombs, who so gallantly fought the 2nd troop of that brigade (the latter had his horse shot under him); Lieutenant-colonel Custance, commanding the carabiniers; Lieutenant-colonel Jones, who so gallantly led the 60th royal rifles; and Major Scott, who ably supported that regiment. Mr. Greathed, the commissioner, attended on me during the whole of the action. From this gentleman and four of my own personal staff—Captain Johnson, staff officer of the force; Captain O'Hamilton, officiating deputy-assistant quartermaster-general; Captain Russell, of the 54th; and Lieutenant Barchard, of the 20th native infantry; my orderly officers, and Lieutenant Waterfield, of the commissariat department—I received every assistance. The casualties may not be considered great under the advantages we have gained; but with my small force I cannot afford to lose men. I have applied to Major-general Hewitt, commanding Meerut division, for

a reinforcement, as I consider my present force much too small for the position I am placed in—liable to constant attacks from Delhi. Parties of horse have been seen from that quarter reconnoitring my position all the morning, and it is very harassing to the men to be kept so constantly on the alert.—I have, &c.—A. WILSON,

"Brigadier, commanding Field Force."

The loss to the Europeans upon this occasion was limited to eleven killed, nineteen wounded, and two missing; fifteen horses belonging to the artillery and carabiniers, also, were killed in the action.

Undeterred by the rough usage he had met with on his first encounter, the enemy, having been reinforced from Delhi during the night, ventured to make a second attack upon the European force in the afternoon of the 31st. Upon this occasion the rebel troops took up a position, about a mile in length, on a ridge within a short distance of the advanced pickets of the 60th regiment, and commenced the action with a spirited and continuous discharge of artillery, which was promptly answered by the guns of the horse artillery and two 18-pounders, while the rifles moved across the bridge, supported by two guns and a troop of carabiniers. For nearly two hours the action was chiefly confined to the artillery on both sides; but at length the enemy's fire slackened, and the British force steadily advanced. The mutineers, after the lesson of the previous day, had no appetite for close quarters. and speedily retreated, maintaining, however, a sharp fire with musketry, until their position was entirely carried, when they fled in hot haste to seek shelter behind the walls of Delhi. The English soldiers were too much exhausted by fatigue and heat to follow the enemy to any distance, and therefore returned to camp at Ghazee-ud-deen Nuggur, after destroying a village, from which the insurgents had subjected them to annoyance. In this the second encounter, Lieutenant Perkins of the artillery, one non-commissioned officer, and ten privates, were killed; and two subalterns, two non-commissioned officers, and eight rank and file, were wounded; twenty horses were also killed or wounded in the action and pursuit. The following is Brigadier Wilson's report of this spirited affair, dated from Ghazee-ud-deen Nuggur, June 1st:—

"Sir,—In continuation of my demi-official express of last night's date, I have the honour to report, for the information of Major-general Sir H. Barnard, K.C.B., and, through him, of the commander of the forces, that the insurgents attacked me again yesterday afternoon, at about one o'clock, in force. They took up a position extending fully a mile on the high ridge, on the opposite side of the Hindun, about a mile from my advanced picket, in front of the bridge, and commenced a fire with their guns from this long distance. The guns of the horse artillery, supported by a squadron of carabiniers, immediately moved forward to reply to the fire, and the two 18-pounders under Lieutenant Light moved to the bank of the river for the same purpose. The rifles, leaving one company in camp, moved forward to the support of the picket at the bridge, supported by two guns of Major Scott's battery and a troop of carabiniers. Perceiving that the horse artillery were exposed to a very heavy fire, I advanced two more guns of Major Scott's battery, under Lieutenant Davidson, to support them. For nearly two hours the action was one of artillery chiefly.

"The rifles clearing the village on the left of the toll-bar, and the fire of the enemy's guns slackening, I ordered a general advance, the insurgents retiring, but continuing their fire until we drove them from their position and crowned the ridge, from which we could see them in full retreat to Delhi.

"My men were so knocked up by the heat of the sun, by which many officers and men were struck down, that I could not follow them further, as I wished. I therefore withdrew the force into camp, after having first burnt a village on our right flank, from which the insurgents had given us much annoyance. All the force performed their duty well and to my satisfaction; and in addition to those officers whom I brought to notice in my despatch of yesterday, detailing the action of the 30th, I wish to report favourably of Lieutenant Elliot, of artillery, who supported the rifles with two guns of Major Scott's battery, in the most steady and determined manner; Lieutenant Light also did admirable service with his 18-pounders. The sappers and miners under Lieutenant Maunsell, whom I brought up in support of Lieutenant Elliot's guns, performed most efficient service. I have to regret the loss of Lieutenant Perkins, of horse artillery—an invaluable officer, and a great loss to me.

"I regret to say that the insurgents were enabled to carry off all their guns, which

appeared to me to consist of two heavy pieces, on the Delhi-road, and five light guns, most probably the remains of Captain De Teissier's battery; one of their ammunition-waggons only was destroyed.—I have, &c.,

"A. Wilson, Brigadier, commanding Field Forces."

After the affair of the 31st of May, no further attempt was made to disturb the position of Brigadier Wilson, who remained upon the field of his triumphs until his movement to join Sir Henry Barnard.

In the meantime, the main body of troops from Kurnaul was rapidly advancing, dispensing retributive justice on its route among those known to have been engaged in the treasonable outbreak. At this time the health of the men generally was excellent, notwithstanding the heat of the season, and their exposure to a burning sun in a treeless country. Excitement enabled them to endure patiently every form of discomfort that lay in their path, and they were only eager for the moment that should place them within reach of the treacherous and vindictive murderers of English women and children, and the cowardly assassinators of unsuspecting British officers.

On the 6th of June, Major-general Sir H. Barnard's force arrived at Allipore (one march from Delhi), and encamped; and here, at two in the morning of the 7th, the Meerut division, under Brigadier Wilson, joined it.

A letter from the camp, dated June 7th, describing the arrival of this gallant band, says—"The 60th rifles came in after their sixteen mile march, singing in chorus, and at a swinging pace." The writer also proceeds to say—"The mutineers have moved out and established themselves, with twelve guns and about 3,000 men, half-way between this and Delhi. They say they mean to attack us, which is not very likely, though they may possibly play at long-bowls with our pickets. If they would only come out in good force, we might be saved much trouble at Delhi. To-morrow we march to the cantonments at Delhi. We shall have to dislodge the mutineers from one or two posts *en route*, but do not anticipate much difficulty. We shall drive in their advanced posts at daylight, and then move on to cantonments. I believe they have eighteen guns outside, which ought to be ours before breakfast-time. An order was sent just now to the European regiments, that weakly and footsore men were to remain behind with the treasure, in case we have to move out to attack. In the 75th and 1st fusiliers, not one weakly man could be found, and hardly any in the 2nd fusiliers, after their long marches.

"The European regiments from the hills suffered from cholera coming down, and while at Umballah and Kurnaul; but since leaving the latter place sickness has entirely disappeared. * * * The siege-train came in this morning, making a double march with six companies of the 2nd fusiliers: the latter have made eight marches in five days, and are in high health and spirits."

From this time, during several successive months, the career of the avenging army was one of uninterrupted success. In every encounter with the insurgent forces, victory crowned the almost superhuman efforts of the heroic band, whose warmest aspirations were not more directed to the effectual suppression of revolt, than to the infliction of condign punishment upon miscreants who, with the name and in the honourable garb of soldiers, had covered the native armies of Bengal with infamy, by the perpetration of enormities it is impossible to recall to memory without feelings of indignation that no language is adequate to express the intensity of.

The capture of Delhi, towards which desirable consummation the advance of the combined forces of General Barnard and Brigadier Wilson was the first effective step, necessarily forms one, but *only one*, of the many distinctive features in the progress of this unjustifiable and unprovoked rebellion; while from the peculiar circumstances attending it, every minute detail connected with the achievement, possesses an interest that has not been surpassed in the records of modern warfare. The pen of the annalist can but faintly pourtray the difficulties, the fatigues, the losses that lay in the path of the destined captors; yet they were prepared to dare all, and to endure all, that the chances of a war, characterised by unparalleled barbarity, might present to them, so that the martyrs of their people might be avenged by the punishment of their brutal destroyers. Up to this time they fortunately were ignorant of the extent of the crimes they would be called upon to resent; or that the stoutest hearts among them would quail, and the flashing eyes of thousands of England's heroes would be dimmed, by the contemplation of horrors about to be unveiled to them.

A few minutes after one o'clock in the morning of Monday, June the 8th, the combined forces from Meerut and Kurnaul, under the immediate command of Sir H. Barnard, advanced from Allipore towards Delhi; and after marching for about four miles, came upon a body of mutineers, numbering about 3,000, strongly posted in an intrenched position, defended by twelve guns, at Badulee Ke-Serai. The enemy at once opened fire, and, for a short time, inflicted severe damage upon the advancing force. At the commencement of this affair, Colonel Chester, adjutant-general of the army,* was struck by a round shot that knocked over both himself and horse, as well as another officer (Lieutenant Harrison), and two horses that were near him. As the British artillery was not yet in a position to cope with the heavy guns opposed to it (worked as they were with exceeding precision and good effect, by men trained and disciplined in our own school), there was only one course to pursue; but that one in which English soldiers rarely fail to succeed. The order was given to take the guns; and, with a cheer that rung above the roar of cannon and the din of the battle-field, the gallant 75th rushed forward like a solid wall of iron, amidst a perfect hailstorm of musketry. Nerved by feelings that gave speed to their feet and strength to their arms, the pace of the men was so rapid, the attack so impetuous, and their fury so unsparing, that the sepoys, without waiting to cross bayonets, fled in terror to their next position, abandoning their guns and whatever else might impede their flight and endanger their safety. The second position embraced a well-constructed line of defences, extending from the Signal tower (of which we have already given some notice)† to a building known—from the name of its former owner, a Mahratta chief—as "Hindoo Rao's house," situate a short distance from the Moree gate of the city. The terror inspired by the first attack at Badulee Ke-Serai had not yet lost its influence upon the rebel force, and a very brief struggle sufficed to place this defence, also, in the hands of General Barnard and his victorious troops. The assault was so furious, that the field-pieces of the enemy were taken, with the horses and equipments ready for service; the whole of the artillerymen that survived the onslaught having abandoned their guns, and fled with their discomfited and terror-struck comrades of the defensive force, to seek protection within the fortifications of the city, leaving the field to the "avengers," who by nine o'clock of the same morning were in quiet possession of the cantonments formerly occupied by the mutinous 38th, 54th, and 74th native regiments; and of a position having its left resting upon the Signal tower, its centre upon an old mosque, and its right upon the building already mentioned as "Hindoo Rao's house," which was surrounded by walls, strongly fortified. Owing to the oblique direction of the line of hills in front of the city, the right wing of the besieging army was considerably in advance, the left wing being necessarily thrown back; but the mean distance of the entire position was not more than a mile and a-half from the north-eastern angle of the city walls.

Here then, in sight of the beleaguered rebels, and within hearing of their phantom king, the avenging army of England rested with stern and pitiless resolve to exact a fearful retribution from the murderers of their helpless women and children, and the treacherous assassins of their unsuspecting and too-confiding officers—rebels, who henceforth could only rush from the confines of their living tomb to throw themselves upon the bayonets of their victors; to surrender unconditionally, or to brave the consequences of an assault that would involve their indiscriminate destruction.

Having brought the avenging force in close proximity to the doomed city (before which, for some time, it had to act merely on the defensive, owing to the deficiency of the battering train), we shall reserve the details of its daily operations for future pages; concluding this portion of our narrative with the despatches of the adjutant-general of the army, and of Major-general Barnard, referring to the triumphs of the 8th of June.

* An officer of the 75th, who shared in the achievements of the day, says in a letter, dated from Delhi cantonments, June 8th:—"I was near poor Colonel Chester when a round shot took him about his left hip, knocking over him and his horse, also knocking over another officer and two horses: poor Chester's blood came all over my horse; but round shot and grape were pouring into us, and we could not think of others. This was behind a hill. At last there was nothing for it but to charge and take the guns, which her majesty's 75th did well, and we rushed on and attacked them on all sides. Then was experienced a hail of musketry ringing past our heads. However, at last, the position and guns were our own, and the enemy in flight."

† See *ante*, p. 78.

On the 13th of the month, Lieutenant Norman, who had succeeded to the post of assistant adjutant-general upon the death of Colonel Chester, reported to the secretary to the government as follows:—

"Sir,—In continuation of letter of the 27th ult., to your address, from the late adjutant-general of the army, reporting the death of the commander-in-chief on that day, I am now desired by Major-general T. Reed, C.B., commanding the forces in Bengal, to request that you will inform the governor-general in council that the major-general having left Rawul Pindee on the 28th ult., reached the camp of the force under Major-general Sir H. Barnard, K.C.B., at Allipore, one march from Delhi, about 1 A.M. of the 8th inst., when the troops were on the point of moving to drive in the posts of the mutineers outside Delhi. Sir H. Barnard had been joined on the previous day by Brigadier A. Wilson with troops from Meerut, and on the 6th inst. by the siege-train with its escort; so that the total force in camp was as enumerated in the margin.* I beg to enclose copies of the major-general's two reports of the successful operations of this day, and am only to add that Major-general Reed entirely approves of the whole of the dispositions made, and cordially concurs in the approbation bestowed on the officers and troops engaged, and particularly on those who are more especially mentioned. The commander of the forces, I am to state, was unable, from severe sickness and fatigue, to accompany the troops, and in no way interfered with the arrangements of Sir H. Barnard, who was attended in the field by the head-quarters' staff. Major-general Reed desires to express his deep regret at the loss of the adjutant-general of the army, Colonel C. Chester, who was killed by a cannon-shot in the first advance on the enemy's heavy battery at Badulee Ke-Serai. The loss of this officer at the present juncture is deeply deplored by the commander of the forces.

"Since the arrival of the troops at Delhi, several affairs have taken place, in all of which the troops engaged have greatly distinguished themselves. The guide corps, under Captain Daly, arrived on the morning of the 9th inst., having marched from Murdan, in Eusufzaie, a distance of 580 miles, in twenty-two days. The engineer and artillery portions of the force have been actively employed in throwing up batteries, and in maintaining a fire on the city. The mutineers have mounted a very formidable artillery, and their practice is excellent, and usually well sustained; but the major-general trusts ere long we shall be enabled to strike a decisive blow at the place.

"In addition to the enclosures already referred to, I am directed to attach copies of Brigadier Wilson's reports of his two actions at Ghazee-ud-deen Nuggur.

"I have, &c.,

"W. A. NORMAN, Lieutenant."

Major-general Sir Henry Barnard's reports, referred to in the above despatch, were dated from the cantonments at Delhi, on the 8th and 12th of June respectively. The first-dated was to the following effect:—

"Sir,—The forces under my command marched from Allipore at 1 A.M. this morning; and on reaching Badulee Ke-Serai, found the enemy strongly posted in an intrenched position, which I have the satisfaction to inform you was carried after an engagement of about three-quarters of an hour, and proceeded to take up our present position, which we found to be over disputed ground the whole way; and finally, in a well-defended line of defence, from the Signal tower to Hindoo Rao's house. Our troops behaved with the greatest gallantry and persevering endurance; and after facing a very determined resistance, drove the enemy within the walls of Delhi: all this was accomplished by nine o'clock in the morning. Our loss has been comparatively trifling, only one officer being killed; but I regret to say that officer is Colonel Chester, adjutant-general of the army, who was esteemed by all for every qualification that can adorn the soldier. I have not been able to ascertain the particulars of our loss, or our capture of guns; but I fear I cannot estimate the former under forty to fifty killed; the number of guns taken to be about sixteen or eighteen. I do not, in this hurried

* Four guns, 2nd troop, 1st brigade; 2nd and 3rd troops, 3rd brigade, horse artillery; 3rd company, 3rd battalion, artillery, and No. 14 horse field battery; 4th company, 6th battalion. Artillery; detachment artillery recruits; head-quarters' detachment sappers and miners; her majesty's 9th lancers; two squadrons, her majesty's 6th dragoon guards; head-quarters and six companies 60th royal rifles; head-quarters and nine companies of her majesty's 75th regiment; 1st Bengal fusiliers; head-quarters and six companies 2nd fusiliers; Sirmoor battalion.

despatch, attempt to recommend any one; but I cannot pass over the assistance I received from Brigadier-general Wilson, whose cool judgment entitles him to an equal share of any merit that may be given to the officer in command. From the brigadier-general and staff of the army attached to me from the divisional staff I received every support; and from my personal staff, Captain Barnard and Lieutenant Turnbull, the most daring devotion. The conduct of the Ghoorka battalion, the sappers, and other native troops employed, was most praiseworthy; they vied with their European comrades in forward daring. The troops of the native contingents did equally good service, including those of the Jhind rajah; and I cannot close this without especial mention of many gentlemen attached to the army in civil capacities, who not only accompanied us into the field, but did every service the extended nature of our position rendered prominent in keeping up mutual communication. I hope to send you a fuller detail to-morrow. Our siege-train is up, and I hope to open on the town without a moment's delay.

"P.S.—I find the captured guns amount to twenty-six; and I desire to add to this, in justice to myself, special notice of the assistance I received from Colonel Congreve, C.B., acting adjutant-general of her majesty's forces in India; Colonel Becher, quartermaster-general of the army; and Colonel the Hon. R. Curzon, military secretary to the late commander-in-chief, who never left me; Captain Norman, assistant adjutant-general of the army, and on whom the important duties of adjutant-general devolved on the death of Colonel Chester; and Colonel Young, judge-advocate-general of the army, who accompanied me during the whole of the action."

The second report, dated June 12th, comprises a more detailed account of the action at Badulee Ke-Serai.

"Sir,—With reference to my hurried despatch of the 8th inst., I have now the honour, for the information of the general commanding the forces, to submit a more detailed account of the action of Badulee Ke-Serai, and seizure of the position on the ridge above the cantonments of Delhi, necessary to hold with regard to ultimate operations against that city. Having been joined by the force under Brigadier-general Wilson, I broke up the camp at Allipore without delay; and on ascertaining that the enemy had made preparations to oppose our advance, and had occupied a fortified position at Badulee Ke-Serai, made the following disposition of the forces:—Brigadier-general Grant, C.B., with the force as per margin,* was to gain the opposite side of the canal, and recross it below and in rear of the enemy's position, so soon as he heard the action commence, with a view of taking the enemy in flank. The 1st brigade, under Brigadier-general Showers, was to act on the right side of the main trunk road, along which the column was to advance; and the 2nd brigade, under Brigadier-general Graves, was to take the left; the heavy guns were to remain in position on the road; the rest of the artillery to act on either side. As soon as our advanced picket met the enemy these brigades deployed, leaving the main road clear. The enemy soon opened a heavy fire upon us; and, finding that our light field-pieces did not silence their battery, and that we were losing men fast, I called upon the 75th regiment to make a dashing charge and take the place at the point of the bayonet: this service was done with the most heroic gallantry; and to Lieutenant-colonel Herbert and every officer, non-commissioned officer, and man of the 75th regiment, my thanks are most especially due. The 1st Europeans supported the attack; and on the 2nd brigade coming up and threatening their right, and Brigadier-general Grant showing the head of his column and guns on their left rear, the enemy abandoned the position entirely, leaving his guns on the ground. The action lasted nearly an hour, and I regret to say, cost many valuable lives.

"Although the men were much exhausted, I determined to push on, under the impression that if I halted, a similar difficulty might be opposed to me the following day in gaining the requisite position; and on the road separating, it became desirable to act in two columns, sending one along the main trunk road, and taking the other to the left through the cantonments. To Brigadier-general Wilson, supported by Brigadier-general Showers' brigade, I confided the conduct of this column, which had to fight its way through gardens with high walls and other obstacles the whole way; and, taking the 2nd brigade, with Brigadier-general Graves, with myself, I

* Six guns, 3rd troop, 3rd battalion, horse artillery; four guns, 2nd troop, 1st battalion horse artillery; three squadrons 9th lancers.

proceeded to the left. I soon found that the enemy had posted himself strongly on the ridge over the cantonments, with guns in position, and under the range of which we soon found ourselves; upon which I determined on a rapid flank movement to the left, in the hope of gaining the ridge under cover of the cantonments, and taking the position in flank. This was happily successful; the enemy got their guns hastily into a position to meet me; and Brigadier-general Graves' brigade, consisting of the 60th rifles, under Lieutenant-colonel Jones, supported by the 2nd Europeans, under Captain Boyd, advanced gallantly, and, supported by Captain Money's troop of horse artillery, carried the position; and the enemy, finding himself taken in flank and rear, abandoned his guns, and we swept the whole ridge from the Flagstaff to Hindoo Rao's house, where I had the satisfaction of meeting Brigadier-general Wilson; and, the object of the day having been thus effected, the force was at once placed in position before Delhi.

"I have already mentioned to the commander-in-chief the names of officers to whom I am indebted, and whom I desire, in justice, to call to his notice, and to whose names I beg to add those of Major Ewart, deputy-assistant adjutant-general; Captain Shute, assistant quartermaster-general; and Captain Maisey, deputy judge-advocate-general; and beg to state that I fully concur in the merit of those recommended by my brigadiers.—I have, &c.—W. H. BARNARD,

"Major-general, commanding Field Force."

The following letters from officers engaged in the decisive actions of the 8th of June, supply some interesting details of the incidents that have rendered the day memorable in the annals of the Indian revolt. Our first extract, dated from the Delhi cantonments, June 8th, the day of the battle, says—"We marched at 2 A.M. from Allipore, knowing that there were twelve guns in a strong position on our road, about three miles off, and when we got near it, round shot came flying into us. We got off the road, extended our men and brought up our artillery to reply to them, which they did; but their guns were so well served that they did fearful work. Almost at the commencement of the affair, our adjutant-general, Colonel Chester, was placed *hors de combat* by a round shot,* and as it was impossible for us to stand the pounding they were evidently disposed to give us, the only way to prevent it was to take the guns into our own hands. The order was consequently given, and by a vigorous rush of the 75th, supported by the 1st Europeans, the position was carried at the point of the bayonet, and the guns captured with comparatively little loss to ourselves, the Pandys having an insurmountable objection to close quarters with our cold steel in front of them. We then pushed on to Delhi, and had to attack and take more guns, and again I had many escapes; however, it was daylight, and we did things better, and here we are. We took the heights and guns on them, and now are encamped on the old Delhi parade-ground; but though one o'clock, no tents up yet. We are occupying any buildings we can find. I am with the general and staff in an old hospital till tents come up. The mutineers, in their first position, had the commander-in-chief's head-quarter tents, which they had got out of the magazine."

In another letter, dated "Head-quarters, Delhi cantonments, June 12th," the writer says—"We are now encamped on the Flagstaff-hill, having dislodged the insurgents on the 8th. They fought most obstinately, and disputed the ground inch by inch; but British courage, and, I may add, ferocity, forced all before them. In the enemy's camp was found a European actually laying the guns! He was literally cut to pieces by the enraged soldiery. It is suspected that there are others in the city. Three hundred of the mutineers tried to escape by getting into a Seraè, but they were seen by some of our fellows, and a party went to dislodge them; they fired from the windows, when our fellows burst open the doors, and, rushing in, killed every one. Not one was left alive. We marched down to the lines by the Artillery-bridge, the centre one having been destroyed by the enemy. We were under heavy fire till we got beyond the canal, but not a single casualty occurred."

A communication of a yet later date, refers to the advance from Allipore thus:—"Where the two roads to Kurnaul meet, the enemy took up their first position, at a place called Badulee Ke-Serai, with sandbag batteries and about sixteen guns, some of them 24-pounders, and eight howitzers. We came on them on the 8th of June, and got a tremendous pounding for about half-an-hour, till we stormed them with the

* See *ante*, p. 196.

bayonet, when the mutineers fled. They are good behind guns, but poor creatures at close quarters. We then advanced unmolested, and took our position on a commanding ridge, the nearest point of which is about 1,200 yards from the Moree gate, pitching our camp on the parade-ground of the old cantonment, which is just out of reach of their shells. Our force was about 3,000 strong, and the pickets being more than 1,000, siege operations were out of the question. Only an assault remained; but General Barnard could not make up his mind to assent to it, and so we waited for reinforcements, and are now about 6,000 strong. But our guns are still, in number and calibre, quite unequal to a siege. We have two 24-pounders (captured), six 8-inch howitzers, nine 18-pounders, and six 8-inch mortars. The enemy have an enormous arsenal, with 32-pounders, 24-pounders, 10-inch howitzers in abundance, and are limited only in artillerymen; and our troops are so worked, that working parties cannot be procured."

Mr. Greathed, agent to the lieutenant-governor, writes from before Delhi, June 8th:—"We have made good our point to-day, and are now encamped on the parade-ground, with the heights between the cantonments and the city in our hands, and in a position to commence the siege at once. The enemy had taken up a strong position at Badulee Ke-Serai, which was carried, with the capture of all the guns. The pursuit was so sharp, that the gunners threw themselves off their horses and left the field-pieces standing in the road. The heavy guns remain in position. Twenty-six guns, in all, have been captured to-day, besides ammunition and intrenching tools."

Another letter briefly refers to the advance from Allipore, and the events of the 8th of June, thus:—"Marching from Allipore at one in the morning, the general found the enemy intrenched in a strong position, or line of positions, covering Delhi. By nine o'clock he had carried the whole of them in the face of a stubborn resistance, and had driven the mutineers within the walls of the city, upon which he was intending to open with his heavy artillery, without a moment's delay." The writer then proceeds to say—"Knowing the vital importance of the conflict to which our generals are committed, the smallness of the force under their command—which, even with reinforcements, will hardly, I imagine, reach 6,000 men—the great extent of the city (five or six miles from north to south), its populousness, and the fact that on the eastern or river side it is now entirely open to the mutineers to receive men or supplies from the Doab—we must not murmur against our chiefs if some days yet elapse before we hear that the place is taken. Already, in connection with the revolt, have appeared symptoms of this hasty and ignorant criticism. Poor General Anson was accused of culpable inaction till it was found that he had been waiting, and of course most wisely, for the siege-train from Phillour, having nothing but field-pieces with him."

Adverting to the delay that had occurred in collecting and bringing forward the troops since the early part of May, the writer observes—"Doubtless, the delay in the capture of Delhi has been unfortunate. It has led to the open mutiny of several rotten-hearted regiments—a fact in itself, perhaps, causing no great loss to the state, saving where European life was taken. But let it be remembered, that the game to be played out at Delhi is one of which it is impossible to over-estimate the value of the stakes, and one, therefore, not to be lightly taken in hand, nor to be conducted otherwise than in a cautious, if also in an alert and vigorous mood. I have no fear but that the blow will be struck soon enough for the security of the empire. And when the retribution has come—as come it surely will; when the puppet king of Delhi is taken or slain; when the streets of his capital are choked with dead, and every English bayonet is bent and bloody with the strife, then you will read the ghastly tale of the atrocities perpetrated in the accursed city, unsurpassed in kind, as will I think appear, by anything recorded in history of the cruellest sack of a captured town, and will rejoice that your murdered countrymen and countrywomen are fully, if fearfully, avenged."

Of the spirit that animated the army as one man on its advance for the recapture of Delhi, and the expulsion, if not utter extermination, of the treacherous and unmanly hordes of ruffians that defiled the streets of that city of slaughterhouses, and by their daring provoked the chastisement about to fall upon it and its people, we have an instance in the conduct of the 60th rifles, on their arrival at the camp of General Barnard.* With such spirits, and the energies

* See *ante*, p. 195.

called into activity by attendant circumstances, it could not be possible to doubt the result of the struggle to which such men were hastening, however protracted might be its duration, or however costly the sacrifices by which such result might be purchased for the country ennobled by their valour.

CHAPTER XII.

MUTINY OF AN ESCORT NEAR HATTRAS; SUCCESSFUL RUSE OF THE OFFICER IN COMMAND; OUTBREAK AT SEETAPORE; MURDER OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BIRCH; THE TOWN PLUNDERED; FLIGHT OF THE EUROPEAN FAMILIES; REVOLT OF THE POPULACE, AND MASSACRE OF EUROPEANS AT HANSI AND HISSAR; RECOVERY OF THEIR MUTILATED REMAINS; OUTBREAK AT AZIMGURH; SIR JOHN LAWRENCE'S ADDRESS TO THE SEPOYS; MUTINY AND MASSACRE AT NEEMUCH.

Having traced the disastrous occurrences associated with the progress of the revolt, to the end of May, we shall now follow its devastating career, until, in the month of June, 1857, it had reached a climax of horrors that are scarcely paralleled in the records of human depravity, and of atrocities that the pen hesitates to describe, and the tongue of the sufferer dares not reveal in the hearing of civilised man.

Hattras.—The close of May was signalised by a very gallant and successful exploit of Lieutenant Cockburn, an officer in command of a detachment of the Gwalior contingent that had been sent to the assistance of the lieutenant-governor of the Western Provinces, at Agra, by the maharajah.* Upon intelligence of the outbreak at Allygurh having reached Mr. Colvin, Lieutenant Cockburn was directed to proceed to that place with 225 men of the Gwalior cavalry, for the purpose of protecting such of the Europeans as remained, from the stragglers of the mutinous 9th regiment of native infantry. The men accomplished the distance of 176 miles in seven marches, and fortunately arrived just in time to effect the purpose intended, and to escort the European families from that station to Hattras—a town about thirty miles N.N.E. of Agra. Lieutenant Cockburn had scarcely reached Hattras with his charge, when about 100 of his troopers mutinied, and endeavoured to prevail upon those of their comrades who remained faithful, to join them, and massacre the English fugitives whom they had so far protected. The mutineers, finding expostulation of no effect, sought by example to gain accession to their numbers, and, separating themselves from the escort, they rode round the camp, calling upon their comrades, for the sake of religion and their king, to abandon the "Feringhees," and proceed with them to Delhi. Neither persuasion or menace availed them, and ultimately they rode off to endeavour to prevail on the villagers to join them in an attack upon their late comrades, and in the plunder of the fugitive party. Undismayed by his position with the important charge intrusted to him, and his reduced means for protecting it, Lieutenant Cockburn at once determined to act on the offensive, and thereby extricate the Europeans in Hattras from their hazardous position. The deserters had already succeeded in exciting the cupidity of the villagers, some 500 of whom assembled in the neighbourhood of the town, and were actively engaged in plundering and ill-using the inhabitants. Leaving about eighty of his men, in whom he had confidence, to protect the Europeans under his charge, he procured a curtained bullock-cart, similar to those in which females are accustomed to travel in that part of the country; and having let down the curtains, he placed behind them four of his men with loaded carbines, instead of the usual complement of female travellers. The cart was sent on in advance; himself, with forty of his troop, following at a convenient distance, and screening themselves under the shade of trees as they approached the tumultuous rabble. The cart was no sooner discovered, than the plunderers rushed towards it for the purpose of seizing the women whom

* See *ante*, p. 127.

they supposed to be within it; but, as the foremost of them placed their hands upon the vehicle, a well-directed volley from the carbines laid several of them upon the earth. Lieutenant Cockburn and his men instantly galloped up, and, dashing into the midst of the affrighted rabble, cut the insurgents down without mercy. The mutinous troopers who had instigated and been most active in the disorder, broke from the mass of their confederates, and fled, followed by the mob, which dispersed in all directions. Of the sowars, forty-eight were killed in the *mêlée*, three were wounded, and ten made prisoners, and afterwards hung for mutiny and desertion. The rest of the party were scattered about the country; and of the villagers, many of them, in the extremity of their terror at the impetuous and unexpected attack, threw themselves into the wells, and so perished while endeavouring to escape from a merited punishment. The result of this spirited affair was the safe arrival of the fugitives at their intended destination without further molestation on the way.

Seetapore.—At Seetapore (a military station in the territory of the Gwalior rajah), a wing of the 41st native infantry, the 9th and 10th Oude irregular infantry, and the 2nd regiment of Oude military police, comprising altogether about 3,000 men, were in cantonments; and, up to the beginning of June, nothing had occurred in the behaviour of the troops to excite apprehension of their loyalty, although, as it subsequently proved, a mischievous influence had for some time been actively employed to seduce them from their allegiance. During the morning of Tuesday, the 2nd of June, a sepoy orderly communicated to Lieutenant-colonel Birch, of the 41st regiment, that the men were disaffected, and that a mutinous outbreak was at hand; but that they had resolved not to injure their officers if the latter would leave the cantonment and town quietly. By some extraordinary fatuity this timely information was disregarded, and no preparations were made in anticipation of the possible revolt, beyond ordering the European officers attached to the native regiments to remain with their respective companies. On the 3rd, the outbreak commenced by the men of the 41st regiment assembling on parade with their arms and ammunition, and thence proceeding to the residence of their colonel; who, on refusing to deliver over to them the treasure under his charge, they immediately shot, with one of their three lieutenants and the sergeant-major. The men of the 9th irregulars had not been idle spectators of the movement of their rebellious comrades, and they also broke into open mutiny; emulating the former in their work of blood by shooting their commanding officer, doctor, and sergeant-major. While these events were in progress, the 10th regiment was marched out to protect the civilians, having the military police drawn up on the left of their position for the same object. After a very brief interval of inaction, the men of the police force suddenly mutinied, and commenced firing upon the civilians who happened to be gazing at the unusual military demonstration. For some minutes the 10th exhibited a disposition to stand true to their duty and their colours; but upon the approach of the 9th and 41st regiments, they also left their ranks and joined the mutinous host. The men of the 10th did not, however, imitate the others in wreaking their vengeance upon their officers; one of whom, Lieutenant and Adjutant Burnes, describing the events of the morning, says—"I was standing in front of the centre of the left wing, exhorting the men to be faithful to their salt, and to the colours they had so lately and so sacredly sworn to defend. They listened with the utmost respect, and evinced no signs whatever of disobedience until the 41st and 9th came within 120 yards; when the light company broke their ranks, and seizing me, took me to the rear, begging of me to run and save myself, as they wished me no harm. Seeing my commanding officer and second in command going away, I followed with a heavy heart, little caring what became of me, and not taking much notice of the volleys the troops were treating us to."—The disorder now became general; a portion of the rebellious soldiery had already commenced shooting the inhabitants and plundering the town, while others had taken possession of the treasury, and were now occupied in firing the bungalows and lines of the cantonments. A few sepoys still, however, continued faithful, and earnestly besought the surviving officers to escape, and so avert the otherwise inevitable destruction of their families; as, in the event of their falling, the women and children would be without a chance of protection. Finding it useless to contend

with the circumstances by which they were surrounded, it was at length determined to follow the advice of the sepoys; by whose assistance, eventually, twelve of the officers, with six ladies and several children, and some families of Europeans in the civil service (numbering altogether about fifty persons), managed to quit the place, under the protection of twenty soldiers, by whom the party was safely conducted to Lucknow. Throughout the journey of fifty miles they were compelled to avoid the public roads, and to cross ravines and broken ground, that under other circumstances would have been considered impossible for ordinary travellers. Their flight was soon discovered, and a pursuit commenced; but by taking the unusual route selected by their protectors, the fugitives were enabled to keep sufficiently in advance of their pursuers to avoid personal harm, although upon one occasion, in which they had halted for an hour, they were nearly overtaken. The time occupied in this doubly hazardous flight extended over two days and a night, during the whole of which period they were without shelter, and but scantily provided with food. The outbreak at Seetapore was consummated by a massacre of about sixty of the European and Christian inhabitants of the town, and the partial destruction of the place itself. The cantonments were utterly destroyed by fire; and the Europeans who had saved themselves by timely flight, escaped with only the clothing they had upon them at the moment of their departure.

A letter from Lieutenant George Holmes Burnes, late adjutant of the 10th Oude irregular infantry, affords the following details connected with this outbreak, and its subsequent perils for those unhappily within the range of its influence. The communication is addressed to his brother, from the fort of Mitawlee, after an interval of several months from the period at which the mutiny broke out.

"I fear that for many months you must have mourned me as dead; and my escape has indeed been wonderful—very wonderful; for, since the 3rd of June (the date of the mutiny and massacre at Seetapore), I have been prowling in the jungle, exposed to sun and rain, and pursued by sepoys and a small party of irregular cavalry; but I have hitherto escaped, and hope yet to get off, as I am protected by a friendly rajah, who has fed me and those with me to this hour; and now that things seem bettering, I trust he will increase his care for us—so cheer up! God has been very merciful to me; and I yet hope to see you, dearest brother, again. Much have I to write, and but little space to put it in. On the 3rd of June the Seetapore troops, consisting of the 41st Bengal native infantry, 9th and 10th regiments Oude irregular infantry, and 2nd regiment Oude military police (in all about 3,300 men), broke out into open mutiny and shot their officers, and every European —man, woman, and child—they could lay their hands on. More of this hereafter. I cannot now dwell on the horrible scenes that ensued; so will relate briefly the part more immediately affecting myself."

Lieutenant Burnes then describes the conduct of the troops, and the position in which he was placed as one of the European officers, until constrained to leave the ground as already mentioned; and he then proceeds to relate the incidents connected with his final escape, as follows:—

"As soon as I had got quite clear of the tumultuous mass, I went to the house of Mr. Christian, the commissioner, where all the remaining people of the station had assembled. Behind the house flowed a small deep river, and beyond was a jungle of thick cypress and brushwood: all agreed to cross and hide in the jungle; the house was now being surrounded; the police were in the garden, and had occupied a small temporary bridge across the river, where they shot a number of men, women, and children. Some escaped by a ford; as for me, I followed in the rear, and came up with Mrs. Christian, the commissioner's wife, struggling to get on with her little child in her arms (a girl two and a-half years old), and her husband with her, carrying a boy about six months old. The nurse had run away, and the *sauve qui peut* feeling seems to have been too strong on the fugitives for any of them to help her. I took the child from her arms, and with the aid of Quartermaster-sergeant Morton, of my regiment, got it away safe and sound; all three escaping unscathed through the fearful shower of bullets sent after us as we crossed the river, and hid ourselves in the friendly jungle. We went some twenty miles that day, taking the child by turns: next day we met Sir M. Jackson, assistant-commissioner, and his sister, in the jungle; we went on together, and on the morning of the 5th reached Mitawlee, the fort of

Rajah Toonee Sing, with whom we have since been. I entered his fort by force, and claimed protection for the whole party, which was granted. I have since heard that Mr. and Mrs. Christian and the little boy were killed, so my poor little ward is an orphan; she is a very nice little child. I send this through an officer with whom I am totally unacquainted; but we sent in a French letter by a Brahmin to Cawnpore, and received an answer from Captain Gordon this day, which enlightened us as to what is going on in India. I could not communicate before, or, of course, should have done so. I lost all I had in the world, but regret most my poor mother's jewels. I thought of them, and tried to go into my house after leaving the parade; but the mutineers were there and fired at me, so I went off without an article I valued. God bless you, my father and brothers; write and tell them about me.

"P.S. I have since heard that Lieutenants Dorin and Snell, commandant and second in command of my regiment, were shot near the river."

Referring to the above calamitous affair, the *Friend of India*, of the 2nd of July, says—"There is a long list of brave and distinguished men missing, and most probably murdered, to which we dare not refer. We have thought, at times, that the worst ought to be told; but the task is too painful, and we put it off till a later day: the sense of honour has grown dull, and the day of vengeance seems far distant."

HANSI* AND HISSAR.—Contemporaneous with the events at Seetapore, the military stations at Hansi and Hissar, situated about eighty-seven miles to the north-west of Delhi, were also the scenes of military revolt and unprovoked massacre. The troops at these adjacent stations consisted of a battalion of the Hurreana light infantry, and the 4th regiment of irregular cavalry, who appear to have been excited to mutiny by some troopers that arrived at Hissar from Delhi; and, after a short parley, succeeded in persuading the men to rise and destroy "all the young and old of English parentage." The determination, once formed, was promptly carried into execution; and, of the whole European population at the station, only twenty-three grown persons, and twelve children, escaped a violent death at the hands of their ferocious assailants. One of these, a Dr. Waghorn, managed to reach Kurnaul, a distance of about fifty miles, where he gave an alarm; but there were then no spare soldiers that could be dispatched to avenge the butchery.

Details of this calamitous affair are unusually meagre, the official notification extending no further than the following bare announcement of the fact, that an outbreak had occurred:—"Hansi and Hissar. The Hurreana light infantry mutinied (date not known.) The officers, civil and military, appear to have escaped; some to Thannesur, and others to Sirsa."—Beyond this imperfect information, the authorities appear to have known nothing of the circumstances attending the outbreak, which was terminated by an indiscriminate massacre of the European officers and inhabitants, and the departure of the insurgents to swell the ranks of treason and revolt in Delhi.

From other sources we are, however, enabled to collect the following particulars of the outrage:—For several days prior to the attack, alarm had been felt by the inhabitants of Hissar, in consequence of an unusual number of villagers and Khanjurs having collected together in the vicinity of the place; and, as a measure of precaution, the gates of the city and fort had been kept closed, and vigilantly guarded. Nothing, however, occurred to increase the feeling of disquietude until the afternoon of the 2nd of June, when the servant of one of the European families rushed into the apartment in which her master was sitting, with information that some of the Delhi sowars were at the gate of the city, holding conversation with the sentries. A rumour of their approach was floating about the place early in the morning; but, as the gate was closed, and no communication suffered from the outside, the intelligence could not reach the unfortunate persons within the walls, few of whom escaped the vengeance of the infuriated rabble.

That the scenes enacted in this place were

* Hansi is a town in the Upper Province, situated about 87 miles N.N.W. of Delhi, on the Firoze Shah canal. The place has been occupied as a military station, and contains within a brick wall, a fort of considerable strength, and a good reservoir: cantonments for the Hurreana light infantry are in the vicinity of the town, which at one time was considered of importance. Hissar and Sirsa are other military stations of secondary importance, in the immediate vicinity of Hansi.

equal in atrocity to those at Meerut, Delhi, or any other of the slaughterhouses of the Bengal sepoys, there is ample proof in the facts disclosed upon the entry of the force of Brigadier Wilson, on its route to Delhi. It may suffice that here a wholesale massacre was perpetrated, and that women and children were victims to the turbulent ferocity of an insurgent mob. The following statement by one of the survivors, a gentleman in the civil service of the company, will afford some few particulars of an event which, in other respects, has little record beyond the agonized memories of the surviving actors in the tragedy. This gentleman says—"On the morning of the attack, Mr. Wedderburn (the collector) went to his office about ten o'clock; and about one, while Mr. Taylor and myself were at chess, we were startled by a servant rushing in to say, that some Delhi sowars were outside the city gate, and that Lieutenant Barwell had gone down to see what was wrong. I immediately took up my pistols and went outside the verandah, calling my wife as I passed her room. When Mr. Taylor and myself got into the verandah, we saw two sowars ride up to the sentry, and after giving him some instructions, turn round and dash off. Mr. T. and myself then went down to the gate, and I passed through the wicket. I then saw that Mr. Taylor had no arms, and told him to get his gun. He was then inside the wicket; and on turning, a volley was fired at us, one ball striking Mr. T. in the hand, another knocking my hat off. The wicket was immediately slammed-to by the sentry. On seeing the wicket closed, I entered the garden outside the fort, and endeavoured to get into the house by the garden postern, but found it locked. The two sowars (Dadree) on sentry at this gate drew on me; and their comrades, who were picketed in the garden, rushed to the spot. I gave up all hope of being able to effect my entrance into the house, where I might have rescued my wife. I accordingly made for the city wall, and had to shoot one sowar, which checked the others for a few minutes, during which I managed to scramble over the wall and dropped into the canal, over which I waded into a tank overgrown with rushes, in which I lay concealed till 8 P.M., when I struck through the Bheer for Jhind, which I reached the day after. I will give Mr. Taylor's escape in his own words:—'I ran from the gate through a volley of bullets, and thought I heard you fall close behind me, as we both turned on hearing the first shot from the guard-room. The last I saw of your poor wife was standing at the railing; she screamed as she saw a fellow jump out of the rabbit-house at me with a sword. I had just time to get into the house and seize either yours or Barwell's sword, and cut the fellow down; and going to the back of the house to get time to tie up the wounds on my left hand, from which there was a stream of blood, the brutes fired at me again from the top of the office steps, but a pillar of the verandah saved me. I was hid for three days in the Bheer, near Tulwundee; came to Thannesur in disguise, reaching the border of Putteeala the first night; came on to Umballah and joined the company of volunteers. Lieutenant Barwell entered the garden two minutes after me, and tried to get in by the garden gate; he was cut down by the Dadree sowars. The force in Hissar, at the time of the outbreak, was two companies of Hurreanas inside the fort, ninety-six sowars of the irregular regiment we were raising, picketed outside the fort, and about eighty Dadree and Jhujjur sowars, fifty of them being picketed in the fort garden. There was a guard at the Tehsel, as also at the Cutcherry. The treasure (one lac, 70,000 rupees) was in the magazine of the fort. I heard most of the particulars of the loot and massacre from the brutes who came down to bathe, about twenty yards from where I was concealed. They stated that sowars were out hunting for those who had escaped, who were to be brought in to be burnt in the houses.'"

Notwithstanding their search for victims, it appears from the subjoined list, that several persons did succeed in effecting their escape, and in reaching shelter at Rawul Pindee, after great difficulties, and avoiding many dangers.

Persons who escaped from Hansi:—Captain and Mrs. Stafford and child; Dr. Scott, Messrs. Tapsell, Vaughan, and two children; Mr. Rich, Mr. Blewitt, sister-in-law, and two children; Mr. and Mrs. Scarden and three children; Mr. and Mrs. Warren and three children; Mr. Jews; Mr. Hickey; Mrs. Tapsell, son, and daughter; Quartermaster-sergeant Mallowe.—The following persons were seen on the road some distance from the cantonments of Hansi, but not since heard of:—Mr. Skinner; Mr. and Mrs. Paul and six children; Sergeant-major

Murphy.—The following parties were left behind in Hansi, and were murdered:—Mrs. Milne and two children; Sub-conductor Fitzpatrick, wife, and several children; Mrs. Mallowe and two children.—The following escaped from Hissar:—Dr. Waghorn; Mrs. Daniels and child; Mr. Hallett, Sergeant Sheills, Mr. Taylor (arrived at Thannesur.)—The persons who were in Hissar, and whose fate was for some time unknown, were:—Mr. Wedderburn, wife and child; Lieutenant and Mrs. Barwell; Mrs. Hallett; Mr. and Mrs. Jeffries; Mr. and Mrs. Smith and six children; Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Daniels.

Of the unfortunate individuals mentioned in the above list as left in Hansi and Hissar, the subjoined particulars were collected from some survivors of the party, who returned to the place with the avenging army on its way to Delhi. These persons were able to point out to the soldiers the several spots on which they had seen men and women of their acquaintance shot down, or hacked to pieces, by the mutinous soldiers; and to collect relics of their slaughtered friends. Among other vestiges of the brutality of the rebels, found scattered about the place, was the skull of Mr. Wedderburn, yet exposed upon the ground where he had been murdered, and which, being identified, was decently interred. With this also were laid such portions of the remains of his wife and child, of Mrs. Barwell, and of another lady, as were removable from the spot, below the rampart, where they were cast down from their little room, of which the bloodstained walls yet testified to the butchery that had been perpetrated therein. Mrs. Smith, wife of an assistant in the Cutcherry, took refuge with her five children among some thick bushes in the garden of her house. The gardener knew her retreat, but did not disclose it, assuring the mutineers who attacked and sacked the house, that his mistress and her family had escaped to the fort; but a *chowkedar*, or policeman, who was under deep obligations to Mr. Smith for recent kindness, found out the place where the wife and children of his benefactor were concealed, and with his own hand slaughtered every one. Portions of bloodstained attire were still clinging to the bushes when the bones of the victims were collected and interred. Of Lieutenant Barwell's body no traces were found. It is scarcely necessary to state, that such of the prisoners taken by the European soldiers on this occasion, as were shown to have been concerned in the butchery, had no cause to complain of the delay of justice: their trial was brief, and the arm of the "avenger" did not fail to strike.

A young gentleman, resident at Hissar, in civil employ, whose wife was one of the victims of this sanguinary visitation, writes thus of his loss, and of his sufferings, in connection with the affair:—

"My dear father and mother,—Through the mercy of God I have escaped the awful fate of many of our countrymen out here. My poor Phœbe has, however, been murdered by these savages. I had heard some rumours of a rise in Delhi, and left on sick leave to Hissar, two days before the Delhi massacre. Mr. Thompson, Mrs. Thompson, and my two sisters were murdered in Delhi, and my brother-in-law at Hissar. I am quite sick of everything—my child in November [he alludes to the untimely death of his firstborn], and then my poor little wife: it is very hard. I am laid up with chronic bronchitis. It was very fearful—walking one hundred miles without a hat, in the blazing sun, and having to wade through water up to my neck. I trust I shall get over it; and then what next? When I was lying concealed in the rushes, and the sepoys were firing all round about to see if any one was concealed in the tank, I made a vow that if I escaped I would serve my God. You remember my reference before to my wish to enter holy orders. Well, I don't know how it is, but I feel persuaded that, do what I will, some day or other I am destined for this mission. I have often laughed at the way people talk of being 'called.' If ever a man was, I am. It is no good; do what I will, my heart and conscience always point the same way. I shall, as soon as this rebellion is over, save up, and as soon as I have sufficient to take me home and bring me out again, I shall come home, and endeavour to be ordained by Mr. Villiers to go out as a missionary. I am a beggar now; only two shirts to my back, and one hundred rupees sent me by the Lahore relief fund. Excuse more, as I have not heart to write. Holt and Ruth are safe in the fort at Saugor. God bless you all."

Another account of the affair states, that "the massacre at Hissar commenced upon the arrival of some sowars in green chupkuns. These men were no sooner admitted

into the fort, than the company of the Hurreana light infantry in charge of the treasure, attacked the Europeans, and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter. It appears that one gentleman alone escaped; he was attacked by a chuprassy, but cut the fellow down, and after hiding in a field for three days, he eventually succeeded in reaching Umballah."

From the deficiency of any connected detail of the revolt at Hansi and Hissar, it is probable that many of the circumstances connected with it will escape notice; although sufficient is recorded to show that it was attended by excessive cruelty and indiscriminating vengeance.

AZIMGURH.—Following the course of events as closely as possible in chronological order, we now come to the outbreak by the 17th native infantry at Azimgurh, the capital of a district in the province of Allahabad, about fifty-six miles north-east of Benares. The circumstances under which this mutiny and revolt were developed, appear to have been as follow:—On the morning of Wednesday, the 3rd of June, an escort party of fifty troopers of the 13th irregular cavalry arrived at the station with treasure, amounting to seven and a-half lacs, from Goruckpore, *en route* to Benares, at which place the presence of her majesty's 10th regiment was considered a necessary guarantee for its safety. The agitation that had prevailed in the adjacent districts, had induced the authorities at Azimgurh to adopt some precautionary measures in respect to the defences of the place, and they were at this time occupied in throwing up a breastwork round the Cutcherry and public offices, in case it should be necessary for the safety of the European families to seek protection from the probable effects of a popular tumult, which would inevitably follow any mutinous demonstration on the part of the native soldiers: the necessary operations for strengthening the position had, therefore, been commenced, but were not yet completed. After the usual halt of a few hours, the escort with the treasure resumed the march for Benares about six in the evening, at which time nothing unusual was observed in the conduct of the men of the 17th regiment, who were then in the cantonments. The place wore its accustomed aspect until about nine o'clock, when extraordinary agitation was apparent in the native lines, followed by violent shouts and firing of musketry. It was then ascertained that the troops had broken out into open mutiny; and having forcibly possessed themselves of their weapons, they had commenced a murderous attack upon some of their non-commissioned officers, two of whom, the havildar-major and quartermaster-sergeant, were sacrificed to their fury. The officer on guard at the Cutcherry, hearing the tumult, and having, as he believed, a body of trusty men on duty, ordered them to fall in, and at the same time directed the golundauzes to get ready the guns for service. The men at once, and unanimously, refused to obey orders, and told the officer they would neither themselves fire, or allow others to fire upon their comrades, if the latter came towards them. At the same time they declared it was not their intention to injure the officers or their ladies, unless provoked to do so by useless opposition; and that they were all at liberty to leave the place if they chose to do so. They further stated, that they required the guns for the pursuit of the treasure, which had already got more than three hours' start, and which they intended to secure for themselves. Remonstrance was of course unavailing under the circumstances; and as the mutineers had already began to fire the bungalows and plunder the unfortunate inhabitants, further stay in the town was merely inviting peril that could be avoided; and, consequently, the officers and their families, with several European residents belonging to the civil service (numbering altogether nearly one hundred persons, including children), sought safety in flight. During the hasty preparation for this exodus, some men of the 17th regiment took Major Burroughes, their commanding officer, under their protection, and escorted him a considerable distance on the road to Ghazepore, treating him on the way with their accustomed respect, and at length leaving him in a position that ensured his safety. Another party of the mutineers, with two guns, started off in pursuit of the treasure, with which they came up; and after a feeble show of resistance on the part of the troopers having charge of it, the whole party joined, and retraced their way to Azimgurh.

During their absence the work of destruction had been rapidly progressing. The sepoys left behind had occupied themselves by plundering the treasury and firing the bungalows of the officers in cantonment; but upon the arrival of the villagers and

budmashes of the adjoining district, the whole town was given up to pillage, and every inhabitant suspected of favouring the Europeans was subjected to brutal violence. The kotwal of the police was one of the earliest to fall beneath the blows of the excited rabble, who fired the houses, and wantonly destroyed the furniture that was useless to themselves. The prison was opened, and 800 offenders of various degrees of crime were let loose to swell the ranks of the plunderers, who, when there was no longer private property to "loot," destroyed the public gardens and baths, and effectually dismantled the whole place. The orgies of the night and following day were brought to an end amidst a scene of utter and hopeless desolation.

Of the European families that had happily escaped before the arrival of the villagers, a considerable number reached Ghazepore, a station about forty-four miles south-west from Azimgurh, on the road to Benares; while others fled in an opposite direction, and found an asylum at Goruckpore, about an equal distance north-east from Azimgurh, where they remained in safety till removed under the protection of a military party on its way to the reoccupation of the deserted town.

On the departure of the mutineers and rabble (who, laden with plunder and sated with mischief, had taken the road to Fyzabad, or returned to their homes), a European gentleman named Venables, residing in the vicinity of Azimgurh—near which he possessed an extensive indigo plantation, and gave employment to a great number of people—emerged from the necessary concealment he had sought during the heat of the tumult; and, gathering a few of his people whom he could trust, armed them, and placing himself in communication with such of the native authorities as were capable of action, rendered material assistance in restoring order, and in reclaiming the adjoining districts from the state of anarchy into which they were thrown by the marauding bands that prowled about, plundering and firing wherever they found property to destroy. In the town itself, he acted most efficiently in the absence of the civil officers, who had abandoned their post; and by the promptitude and vigour of his operations, effectually deterred the evil-disposed from repeating their visit to the miserable inhabitants.

The mutiny of the 17th regiment does not appear to have been occasioned by any immediate reference to the cartridge question, or to the occurrences at Delhi. It is just possible that, on becoming acquainted with the disturbed state of the surrounding districts, and adopting the prevalent idea that the rule of the "Feringhee" was near its close, a desire to obtain possession of the seven and a-half lacs might have suggested the act of mutiny as the only means by which their object could be accomplished; and that the murder of the non-commissioned officers at the cantonments, on the night of the 3rd of June, was rather a sudden and unpremeditated consequence of injudicious, because useless, resistance to the general will, than of any preconcerted design on the part of the men. Their treatment of Major Burroughes, and the forbearance shown towards their officers, certainly afford some ground for this extenuatory view of their conduct.

On the other hand, a very opposite conclusion must necessarily be arrived at, if we assume the following detail, which appeared in the columns of the *Calcutta Phœnix*, to be correct. In this statement, the tale of the mutiny is told without any circumstance of a palliatory nature; and the native soldier of the Bengal army is delineated as exhibiting a wanton ferocity, that is scarcely surpassed by that of the destructive animals which infest the jungles and topes of his native country. The author of the narrative referred to, says:—

"On the evening of the mutiny a parade had been ordered for the entire regiment. It appears that the sepoys had resolved to mutiny on this occasion, which they doubtless considered a very favourable one for cutting down or shooting their officers. The hour for parade arrived, and all the sepoys were on the ground, comporting themselves as quietly as if nothing was intended. The men fell in by companies, and took up their position in line, in the most orderly and soldierlike manner. Up to this time, however, not a single European officer had come on the parade-ground, neither had the sergeant-major. The only European present was the quartermaster-sergeant of the regiment, named Lewis. The regiment continued silent and in line for some time, expecting that the officers would come on the ground. The latter, however, appear to have had intimation of what was intended, and to have determined to remain away. Quartermaster-sergeant

Lewis, however, continued to stand his ground. At length one of the native officers, the subahdar-major of the regiment, stepped forward, and saluting the quartermaster-sergeant, asked if the officers were not coming out to parade. Sergeant Lewis answered, that he supposed they would come. The sergeant next broke the line in columns of companies at quarter distance. The movement was executed with great precision, and without the slightest display of bad feeling on the part of the native soldiers. A pause ensued, and the subahdar-major again stepped forward and asked a second time if the sahibs were not coming on parade? The quartermaster-sergeant answered, that they should have been out before, but he supposed something had delayed them. The subahdar then suggested that he should order the 'officers' call' to be sounded. The quartermaster-sergeant refused to do so; but after another interval, the subahdar again urged that the call should be sounded. Sergeant Lewis, however, again declined to order the call; but he drew his sword, and, as the only European present, assumed the command of the regiment. Some of the sepoys, on this, began to leave the ranks, but on being ordered back again, returned to their places. Sergeant Lewis then spoke to them, or rather to the company in front of the column, about the enormity of mutiny; telling them that they had better dismiss such thoughts from their heads, as the result of the mutiny would eventually be, that they would be all hanged or transported. But by this time the entire corps had set up a furious yelling; and the answer to the sergeant was—'Well, if we are to be hanged, we'll have the satisfaction of shooting you first.' The sepoys now closed round the solitary European, and several made a rush at him. Two or three men fired at the same time, and one man shot him in the side. The sergeant fell, and lay bleeding on the ground, expecting to be hacked to pieces by the fiends around him. They, however, seemed resolved not to dispatch him at once, but to regularly torture him to death. One sepoy proposed that his feet and hands should be cut off. Another was for some more horrible species of mutilation; while there were not wanting others who suggested nailing him hands and feet to a tree. Some species of horrid death would have assuredly been his lot, but for an old native officer, who threw himself on his knees, and begged the sepoys not to torture him, saying, 'He is wounded now, and if left where he is, he will die there. Let him die where he lies.' This advice was listened to, and the quartermaster-sergeant was allowed to remain where he was. In this condition he lay all that night, and for the greater portion of the following day, when he was removed by a European officer of the regiment, who took him up, and placing him in a bungalow, left him there. From the bungalow, however, he was subsequently removed by the natives as a prisoner to the quarter-guard. On the road to the guard, a chuprassy made an attempt to kill him with a sword; but the sergeant shot him with a pistol which he managed to retain. He was now, however, deprived of this, his only weapon, and thrust into the quarter-guard, where he lay wounded and bloody for days, exposed to the gibes and jeers of the natives, who hourly visited the place, for the diabolical pleasure of abusing the wounded man, and telling him the horrid torture he would ultimately be subjected to. In this condition the sergeant continued until released from confinement by Mr. Venables."

Nothing can possibly be more conflicting, as details of the same occurrence, than the sources from which the preceding narrative of incidents connected with the mutiny at Azimgurh has been derived; and the total absence of any official report on the subject, renders the fact either way uncertain, although, for the sake of humanity, it must be hoped, that the most merciful version may also have been the most correct.

GORUCKPORE.—A small detachment of the 17th regiment, whose mutinous proceedings we have just recorded, was stationed at this place, from which, as before mentioned, the treasure had been removed on the 3rd of June. Upon intelligence of the occurrences at Azimgurh reaching this station, with a report that two troops of the 12th irregulars were on the way to assist the men of the 17th to plunder the treasury, over which they mounted guard, the latter were desired to turn their charge over to the gaol burkandazes. The soldiers, affecting great indignation that their trustworthiness should be doubted, positively refused to obey the order of the collector, and threatened to shoot any of his people who should approach the Cutcherry. The whole city, already alarmed by the arrival of some of the fugitives from Azim-

gurh, became fearfully excited; and the anxiety of the inhabitants was not lessened by intelligence of an attempt, on the part of the prisoners at the gaol, to force the gates and commence the pillage of the town. The design was, however, rendered abortive by the decisive conduct of the guard at the gaol, who killed six and wounded eleven of the prisoners, and thereby deterred their companions from joining in the effort to escape. Beyond the first act of insubordination, the men of the 17th regiment did not commit themselves; and after some five or six days of intense anxiety, the inhabitants were relieved from any apprehension of a military revolt. The sepoys allowed the collector to open the cash chest, and remove sufficient for current expenses, but refused to surrender charge of the whole until relieved from their responsibility by military authority. These men continued faithful until after their removal from the station.

Whatever may have been the characteristics of English rule in India previous to the outbreak of this general revolt, it is quite clear that no measures of undue severity were adopted until all prudent endeavours to restore order by conciliatory means had proved unavailing. The dissuasive appeals and lenient proclamations of Mr. Colvin. the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, have already been noticed* as ineffectual for the accomplishment of the humane objects contemplated by their author; but even yet, after fire and sword had ravaged the plains and desolated many of the cities of Hindostan, efforts were still made, as well by the government itself as by its commissioners, to recall the Bengal army to a proper sense of its duty, and to keep open the doors of reconciliation and forgiveness to all who might be disposed to seek it. Among other proofs of the existence of this feeling, we may instance the following address of the chief commissioner of the Punjab, promulgated among the Hindostani soldiers of the Bengal army in the early days of June:—

"Sepoys!—You will have heard that many sepoys and sowars of the Bengal army have proved faithless to their salt at Meerut, at Delhi, and at Ferozepore. Many at the latter place have been already punished. An army has been assembled, and is now close to Delhi, prepared to punish the mutineers and insurgents who have collected there. Sepoys! I warn and advise you to prove faithful to your salt—faithful to the government who has given your forefathers and you service for the last hundred years—faithful to that government who, both in cantonments and in the field, has been careful for your welfare and interests; and who, in your old age, has given you the means of living comfortably in your homes. Those who have studied history know well, that no army has ever been more kindly treated than that of India. Those regiments which now remain faithful, will receive the rewards due to their constancy. Those who fall away now will lose their service for ever. It will be too late to lament hereafter, when the time has passed by; now is the opportunity of proving your loyalty and good faith. The British government will never want for native soldiers. In a month it might raise 50,000 in the Punjab alone. If the 'Poorbeah' sepoy neglect the present day, it will never return. There is ample force in the Punjab to crush all mutineers. The chiefs and the people are loyal and obedient, and the latter only long to take your place in the army: all will unite to crush them. Moreover, the sepoy can have no conception of the power of England. Already, from every quarter, English soldiers are pouring into India. You know well enough that the British government have never interfered with your religion. Those who tell you the contrary, say it for their own base purposes. The Hindoo temple and the Mohammedan mosque have both been respected by the English government. It was but the other day that the Jumma mosque of Lahore, which had cost lacs of rupees, and which the Sikhs had converted into a magazine, was restored to the Mohammedans. Sepoys! my advice is, that you obey your officers; seize all those among yourselves who endeavour to mislead you. Let not a few bad men be the cause of your disgrace. If you have the will you can easily do this, and government will consider it as a test of your fidelity. Prove by your conduct that the loyalty of the sepoy of Hindostan has not degenerated from that of his ancestors. JOHN LAWRENCE."

Following out the principle on which the above address was based, Sir John Lawrence, in the subjoined telegraphic communication to the governor-general, recommends the discharge of such men of the regular native infantry as might desire it:

* See *ante*, pp. 129—137.

and after noting that the state of Peshawur was rather critical at that moment, he proceeds thus:—

"I suggest, that such men of the regular native infantry who desire it, may be paid up and discharged. We shall get rid of the bad, and the good will remain. At present the former are a source of danger. We are crippled in order to guard against them: should they break out, the irregular Hindostani cavalry will not act against them. When disbanded, they can do no harm, and we can hold the country securely without them—certainly more securely without them. This proposal not to include mutineers. Punjabee troops behaving famously."

Vain was the attempt to pour oil upon the troubled waters of Hindoo disaffection; futile the effort to hold forth the olive-branch of peace to the excitable and impulsive races, whom it was desired to conciliate rather than to crush. The fires of rebellion were now smouldering, or bursting forth in every direction, and the eye vainly sought repose from the lurid glare of its wide-spread conflagration. While the pen yet traced the bloodstained record of the mutinies at Hansi—at Seetapore—at Azimgurh—crimes of equal enormity, in other directions, were surging up on the memory, and crowding the already overcharged tablets on which they were too vividly inscribed.

At Neemuch—a cantonment 155 miles north-west of Mhow, and situated between Malwa and Newar, on the frontier of Rajpootana—the hydra of revolt raised one of its fearful heads also on the 3rd of June, under circumstances of extraordinary interest. The station had been for some time denuded of its proper garrison of Bombay troops, whose place had been supplied by the 72nd Bengal native infantry, the 4th troop 1st battalion horse artillery from Agra, and a wing of the Bengal light cavalry from Mhow. The elements of mischief were therefore concentrated in dangerous abundance; and the effect of the arrangement may be traced in the following details.

The massacres at Meerut and at Delhi were known at Neemuch very soon after their occurrence; and with the natural reliance upon the resources and energies of the government, the inhabitants of that place were looking anxiously for the news that should announce the restoration of the Monghol capital to its British rulers. Day by day, the excitement produced by unsatisfied expectation and feverish anxiety grew more oppressive; yet the desired intelligence came not. During the feast of the Eed, the Mussulmans congregated in formidable numbers, and the whole week passed in disquietude, the people of the bazaars leaving the town in shoals, and every species of carriage being engaged in conveying the timid inhabitants to the shelter of the adjoining villages, for safety from some anticipated but yet undefined danger. All sorts of reports were in circulation; and the panic was complete, notwithstanding the efforts of Brigadier Abbott and Captain Lloyd, in command of the troops, to restore confidence. An unusual and offensive demeanour by the sepoys, whose manners had suddenly changed from a respect bordering upon servility, to that of bold, saucy indifference, too plainly showed that the cords of discipline had become relaxed, and that the influence of the officers over their men had been dangerously shaken. Thus matters had continued for some days, when at length the expected crisis was precipitated by some mischievous fellows declaring aloud in the bazaar, that the *Ghoré log*—*i.e.*, European soldiers—were coming to attack them. The report occasioned a rush of people into the cantonments; and the sepoys, in wild excitement, tore open the bells of arms, and took possession of their weapons and ammunition. Colonel Abbott repaired as quickly as possible to the lines of the 72nd (his own regiment), hoping by his presence, and the influence he then possessed over his men, to avert the impending catastrophe. Fortunately he reached the lines before a shot had been fired, and for the moment succeeded in calming the excitement of the troops. At this moment, some sepoys of the 7th regiment of the Gwalior contingent, then stationed in the fort, manned the ramparts, and the sowars of the light cavalry prepared to mount at the command of a leader they had themselves chosen. The terror of the natives in the bazaar had now become excessive; and a report that a mutinous outbreak would occur at midnight, did not serve to allay it. On the night of the 30th of May, it was arranged by Colonel Abbott, that the officers of each corps should occupy tents in their respective lines among the men, himself saying to the 72nd—"You are so foolish and childlike in believing every absurd report, that I must treat you as my

children, and come and live among you." This precaution probably restrained the troops from breaking out that night, as the several corps had no time or opportunity to effect a useful combination for their purposes under the eyes of their officers; while the gallant conduct of the colonel, in unreservedly placing himself in the hands of his men, had for the moment a beneficial effect upon their temper. Some of the native officers entreated of him to have a sentry over his tent; but in the generous confidence of his brave heart, he answered, "I want none; I am among my own men, and I have already a thousand guards. I don't doubt a single man." This reliance upon their fidelity visibly affected the men; but evil influences were at work among them, and their better feelings speedily vanished. On Sunday morning, the 31st of May, service was performed as usual in the little church of the garrison; and there were many who offered up prayers for safety, with a presentiment that it would be the last time the congregation there assembled would meet together in an earthly temple. The day passed gloomily; a heavy feeling seemed to oppress every heart, and to check every effort that would divert the mind from a thought of impending danger. Shortly before midnight the dâk arrived, and letters announced the outbreak at Nusseerabad and other places. On Monday, June 1st, the excitement continued; the bazaar was almost deserted, and deathlike stillness cast a chill upon the senses. Towards night the golundauzes, on the pretext that the other troops were about to attack them, tumultuously demanded to have the waggons stored with ammunition; but Lieutenant Walker, their commander, succeeded in prevailing upon them to refrain from their purpose until he had reported their desire to Colonel Abbott; who, as a last resource, assembled the native officers and harangued them; and, after a long conference, the pundits were called in, and a solemn swearing by the officers, to exert their best influence with the men, took place; the colonel likewise solemnly affirming, that the government had no intention to force the cartridges upon, or to interfere with, the religious prejudices of any sepoy. It should be observed, that the objectionable cartridges had never been issued to the troops at Neemuch; so that, in fact, no real grievance could have been felt upon that score. Tuesday passed over without additional cause for uneasiness; and a few people returned to their usual occupation in the bazaar, and remained until the evening of the following day, when a panic again seized them, and they fled from the gathering storm. Three companies of the 7th infantry (Gwalior contingent) were at this time quartered in the fort, under the command of Captain Macdonald; the remaining five companies being stationed in a vacant hospital, about a quarter of a mile distant. The whole of Wednesday had passed quietly until towards nightfall, when the bazaar people again began to exhibit alarm and desert the place; no movement was, however, observed among the troops, and it was hoped that the apprehensions of the people were groundless. Matters continued thus until shortly after eleven o'clock, when the quiet of the night was disturbed by the report of a gun from the artillery lines—speedily followed by a second. This had been evidently a preconcerted signal for the commencement of the outbreak, and in an incredibly short time the bungalows were in flames in every direction. Lieutenant Gurdon, who was with the left wing of the 7th Gwalior regiment at the hospital, on hearing the guns, immediately turned out his men, and, with Lieutenant Rose, marched with them to join the companies in the fort. On the way, the latter officer had a narrow escape from the shot of one of the sepoys aimed at him, but fortunately incorrectly. Upon the arrival of the party at the fort, the whole of the men were placed along the ramparts, and ammunition having been served out to them, they were commanded to load, and obeyed orders with apparent cheerfulness, loudly and unanimously swearing to defend the place with their lives. This had scarcely been effected, when the 72nd native infantry, with the Bengal cavalry and artillery, in a state of tumultuous disorder, approached the fort from the cantonments, passing in their way the residence of the political agent, about 300 yards' distant, when two more guns were fired—the signal, apparently, for the Gwalior troops to commence operations, which they immediately obeyed. Ensign Davenport, the officer in charge of the gate, was overpowered; and, in defiance of his orders, the gate was opened, and himself and the other European officers were desired to leave the place. Remonstrance was useless; and upon the ensign hesitating

to leave without the colours of the regiment, he was informed, that if himself and his companions were not immediately off, they would be murdered by the sowars, who were then almost within view of the gate. These officers, fortunately, availed themselves of the opportunity, and escaped. Not so, however, many of the European residents, who fell a sacrifice to the savage fury of the mutinous soldiers, who, having joined at once, proceeded to liberate the prisoners confined in the gaol, and then commenced firing and pillaging the town, and murdering the obnoxious Europeans, without regard to sex or age. Fires were raging in all directions, and the streets were strewn with valuable furniture, glass, books, musical instruments, and whatever else could be found belonging to the European or Christian inhabitants of the place, who were themselves shot down, or hacked to pieces without mercy. The demoniac fury of the insurgents may be conceived from their treatment of the family of one of the European sergeants of artillery. This man, expecting to be on duty with the guns at the moment of the outbreak, if it should occur, had sought to ensure the protection of his wife and three children by barricading his house; and the wife, with a courage that should have been rewarded by a better fate, upon the approach of the rioters, shot one of the most active while attempting to force an entrance. This occurrence, probably, exasperated his comrades, who instantly forced an entrance, and butchered the unfortunate woman, whose dying agonies were increased by the fiendlike cruelties perpetrated upon her three children, who, despite their cries and tears, were crushed into a box, and thrown into the flames kindled for the destruction of the house, and in which both mother and children were consumed. The Mohammedans belonging to the artillery and cavalry were, throughout this affair, the most bloodthirsty and cruel; and the chief part of the outrages perpetrated were justly attributable to them, while their ferocity was equalled by their treachery. A Mohammedan subahdar, of the 72nd native infantry, persuaded the colonel and officers of the regiment, with their families, to take shelter in his house; but they had no sooner accepted his offer of protection, and placed themselves under his roof, than he fastened the doors upon them on the outside, and sent for the guns, intending to blow them to atoms. Happily for the entrapped prisoners, a Hindoo sepoy, who had remained loyal to his officers, overheard the project of the traitor, and breaking open the door, warned the officers of their danger in time for them to make their escape. Throughout the whole station only one bungalow was left standing; and the rebellious sepoys having sated themselves with the destruction of the place, quitted the scene of havoc, and proceeded to join their faithless comrades at Delhi.

The following official report of this affair, was transmitted by the superintendent at Neemuch to the agent to the governor-general at Rajpootana, dated "Neemuch, June 16th, 1857:"—

"I have the honour to submit a report upon the events preceding and subsequent to the late mutiny of the troops stationed at Neemuch, as per margin,* which has already been demi-officially notified to you. My daily demi-official communications will have acquainted you with the state of feeling which pervaded the troops after the occurrences at Meerut and Delhi became known; but, until the outbreak of the troops stationed at Nusseerabad, the best hopes were entertained that those here would be restrained from following in the tide of rebellion. Every effort was made to preserve the confidence of the men, and to make that of the officers in them apparent. Colonel Abbott slept every night in a tent in the lines of his regiment, without a guard or sentry; and latterly all officers did the same, even with their families. One wing of the 7th regiment, Gwalior contingent, held the fortified square and treasury, and the other wing was encamped close to, but outside, the walls. Captain Macdonald, commanding the corps, resided entirely in the fort, for the purpose of better observing and controlling his regiment. Although it is not for me to comment on the actions of commanding officers, I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of the firm and conciliating conduct of all officers in command of corps and detachments throughout this trying period, and especially of the tact and calm judgment exercised by Colonel P. Abbott, 72nd regiment native infantry, commanding the station, by whose management the outbreak was, without doubt, delayed by many days.

* 4th troop, 1st brigade, horse artillery; two troops 1st light cavalry; 72nd regiment native infantry; 7th regiment Gwalior contingent.

"On the morning of the 2nd instant, Colonel Abbott informed me, in his own regimental lines, that from the occurrences of the previous night, and from information he had received, he was of opinion that the outbreak could not be delayed more than a few hours. I left him to secure a few of my most valuable records, and endeavour to ensure a line of retreat for fugitives by the Odeypoor-road, by means of a detachment of police sowars. Meanwhile, Colonel Abbott undertook to assemble all the native officers of the force, and endeavour to bring them to a sense of their duty, and to remove the distrust in each other which, there was reason to believe, was one cause of the prevailing excitement. After some discussion, all took oaths on the Koran and Ganges water, that they now trusted each other, and would remain true to their salt. The commanding officer was requested to swear to his confidence in their faithful intentions, and did so, when the meeting broke up, all apparently being satisfied and loyally inclined. All continued quiet up to the evening of the 3rd, when some excitement was again apparently arising, as it was said, from a rumour of the approach of troops to the station. It is necessary to mention here, that for many preceding days the utmost panic had prevailed in the Suddur Bazaar, and great numbers of persons had removed with their property. The wildest reports were constantly set afloat by designing persons to increase the distrust, and the commonest occurrences were distorted into phantoms of evil intended against the troops. The move of the Kotah force under Major Burton, for the protection of Jawud, had been determined upon in consultation with Colonel Abbott, commanding the station. The troops of Neemuch had been told of the intended move some days before, and assured that no part of the force was intended to approach Neemuch. Kotah troops were ordered to Jawud, in view to preserving the peace in the district, and protecting the town from marauders. I believe there is no reason whatever to suppose that this movement precipitated the crisis, while subsequent events have proved it to have been a most fortunate and happy one for the interests of government.

"On the night of the 3rd, symptoms of violence were shown by the artillery, and Lieutenant Walker could only restrain them for about two hours, when some of them rushed to the guns, and, loading them, fired two off, evidently as a preconcerted signal. Upon this the cavalry rushed to join them, and, shortly afterwards, the 72nd broke from their lines also. The wing of the 7th regiment, Gwalior contingent, encamped outside the fort, had been marched inside by Captain Macdonald on the report of the signal-guns, and every preparation for defence made. To provide for this emergency, I had furnished Captain Macdonald with a written promise, on the part of government, of rewards to the following amount in case of a successful defence of the fort and treasury, but to be used only in case of an outbreak:—To each sepoy, 100 rupees; to each naik, 300; to each havildar, 500. Native commissioned officers to be rewarded in proportion, at the discretion of government; and a special reward of 5,000 rupees to be given to the senior native officer, or to the one who most distinguished himself in the defence and preserving the loyalty of the regiment. The promise was duly promulgated on the outbreak occurring; but, after holding firm for some time, the gates were ordered, by a subahdar named Heera Sing, to be opened, and the officers were told to save themselves, and eventually escorted to a place of comparative safety. Captain Macdonald and his officers remained in the fort to the very last, and only left it on the gates being forcibly opened, and their lives in the greatest danger, with no hope of being of the least use.

"I was roused on the report of the two signal-guns, and was quickly on horseback. I proceeded to rouse my assistant, Lieutenant Ritchie, and Assistant-surgeon Cotes, who resided in the next bungalow. While there, Lieutenant Barnes, artillery, galloped up, begging us to aid in bringing away Mrs. Walker and child, whose carriage had been fired at four or five times by mounted troopers. We immediately hastened to assist, and succeeded in getting out of the station upon the Odeypoor-road, and by this time fires were appearing in all directions. Having seen the party safe to the village of Daroo, Lieutenant Ritchie and I returned towards cantonments, in the hope of assisting fugitives. We met the officers of the 1st cavalry, but no others, and, after hovering about the burning station till daylight, we set out for Daroo."

A note from Moorum, a small town about eighteen miles east of Neemuch, dated the 6th of June, stated, that "all the officers of the 72nd, with their wives and children,

are safe and well; likewise Dr. and Mrs. Hockin, Captain and Mrs. Laurie, and Lieutenant Williams, of the 21st regiment. Captain Lloyd and Lieutenant Ritchie have also escaped. We *hear* that *all* the officers of the 7th regiment (Gwalior contingent) have also escaped; but the fate of the four officers of the 1st Bengal cavalry, and two officers of the Bengal artillery, is too melancholy to think of. We have two sergeants with us, Taylor and Horne. We are *en route* to Neemuch, with some Kotah troops under the command of Major Burton, and expect to be at Neemuch on the 8th. We hear that there is only one bungalow standing at Neemuch."

The subjoined narrative of Ensign Davenport, belonging to the 12th regiment of Bombay native infantry, who happened to be at Neemuch at this juncture, thus describes the circumstances attending the commencement of the outbreak, in a letter from Odeypoor:—

"About a week before the mutiny I volunteered to do duty with the Gwalior contingent (7th infantry.) I was ordered to take up my quarters in the fort, where Macdonald and I remained day and night with the right wing (three companies.) The left wing (five companies) was quartered in a vacant hospital, some quarter of a mile distant from the fort. On the night of the 3rd, Macdonald and I lay down in our clothes, but not to sleep, as we had reason to suspect that all was not right. At half-past 11 P.M., we were aroused by the report of a gun, which in a few minutes was followed by another. This was the signal for the row to commence; and many moments had not passed when we saw our houses blazing all round. Lieutenant Gurdon, who was at the hospital with the left wing, under the command of Lieutenant Rose, also at the hospital, was aroused by a subahdar telling him that guns had been fired, and the disturbance commenced. Lieutenant Rose and he got the men out of the hospital, and marched them to join us in the fort. A shot was fired on the way to the fort (it was said by a sepoy) at Lieutenant Rose. When they had joined us, we placed the men along the ramparts, served out ammunition to them, and ordered them to load. They obeyed all our orders with apparent cheerfulness; and one and all swore to defend the place with their lives. I was placed to defend the gate, with a subahdar of nearly fifty years' service, two European sergeants, and twenty picked men. We remained in the most anxious state of suspense for nearly four hours, during which time we saw cavalry men riding about and thrusting lighted torches, placed at the end of long poles, into the thatch of the bungalows, when we heard the 72nd Bengal native infantry, the Bengal cavalry, and artillery approaching. Just as they passed the political agent's house, about 200 or 300 yards from the fort, two more guns were fired. This was the signal for the Gwalior men to be up and doing. Immediately on these guns being fired, my old hero of fifty years' standing ordered his picked and brave men to lower the gate, which I did my best to prevent; and for my pains received a gentle intimation, that if I did not hold my tongue and be quiet, I should be treated to a little cold steel in the shape of a dozen or so of bayonets. I then asked them to let me go and report progress to the major: this they granted. I made my report; after which Macdonald, Rose, Gurdon, and myself went among the men, who were assembled in the courtyard fixing bayonets. Macdonald addressed the men to no purpose. We then tried to take away the colours, but this they would not permit. They then took us outside the gate and told us to go; and on our hesitating, said if the Bengal infantry, cavalry, and artillery saw us we should be murdered, and that they could not, and would not, try to save us. We then went away. Macdonald and myself, having lost our horses, had to walk to Baree beyond Duno, about thirteen miles from Neemuch, where we met several others in the same plight as ourselves. We had not been there long before the villagers in affright—it having been reported that the cavalry was after us—told us to take ourselves elsewhere. We started from Baree about 1 P.M. on June 4th, and after three hours' march under a broiling sun, reached Chota Sadree. Here we got a little to eat and drink, and were joined by a large number of women and children. After about two hours' stay at this place we were sent away, our party now consisting of about fifteen men, six women, and ten children. We travelled all night, getting to Burra Sadree at 6 A.M. of the 5th of June. We got nothing to eat till two o'clock; and after partaking of some kind of stew, got on our legs again, the villagers having

served us with notice to quit. We made a place called Doogla before nightfall, and established ourselves in a mud fort only forty yards square, within which we had a menagerie of men, women, children, bullocks, horses, and camels, and vermin of every description. On the fourth day of my residence there I was attacked by cholera. My recovery was almost a miracle. On the 9th, Showers, having procured an escort from the Rana of Odeypoor, joined us. Our party now broke up, Showers going in pursuit of the mutineers with the greater number of officers. I was too unwell to go with them, so I accompanied the party to Odeypoor, which consisted of all the women and children, and the following officers:—Walker, Bengal artillery; Lieutenant Rose and Ensign Davenport, Bombay infantry; Lieutenant Gurdon, Bengal infantry; and Drs. Clarke, Cotes, and Gane. On our arrival at Odeypoor on the 12th of June, the Rana gave up one of his winter palaces to us, and we lived there till the 22nd, receiving every kindness and attention from his majesty. On the 22nd, the women and children, Lieutenant Walker, Drs. Clarke and Cotes, started for Mount Aboo; Lieutenant Gurdon, Ensign Davenport, and Dr. Gane went the same day with Dr. Annesley, with an escort furnished by the Rana, and arrived at Kairwarrah in safety on the 24th of June."

The occurrences immediately subsequent to the outbreak, are described by an officer of the 72nd regiment, thus:—"At half-past 11 P.M. of the 3rd, my servant rushed into my room, and bade me dress quickly, a signal-gun of the artillery having been fired. I dressed quickly, and found Ritchie likewise ready; our ponies were saddled, and presently Lloyd came over on horseback, followed by eight or ten sowars. No time was to be lost, as it was said the sowars had sworn on the sacred water to kill every European they met. Shortly after starting I missed my companions, and struck out for Sadree—a walled town, ten miles distant. As I was walking along I met the sergeant-major of the cavalry, who, being a great favourite with most of his men, was allowed to escape, and had his horse and pistols given him before the firing of the signal-gun. He accompanied me, and so did two servants on a camel. I had no mishap, through God's mercy, save the loss of the last 100 rupees I possessed, by the camel-driver, instead of coming into Sadree, breaking the rope; the camel running away, and, of course, the driver after it; so that I was horseless and penniless. We paused from time to time to watch the blazing of the numerous bungalows. The destruction of property is immense, and must be the utter ruin of many. I learned from the Gwalior officers, who joined us at Sadree during the day, after having been hunted from village to village by the bloodhound cavalry, that, at two o'clock, at a signal from the artillery, one of the chief subahdars ordered the drawbridge of the fort to be lowered; and, in spite of every entreaty that could be used, forced away the officers, while the regiment marched out to join the ——— mutineers in the cantonments, with their colours unfurled. They had the generosity, however, to aid their officers in escaping, and cautioned them against the cavalry. I will not attempt to describe our separation at Sadree, that we might not compromise the safety of the whole party; and our march to this place (Odeypoor), without food, tents, or supplies; the natives ready to strip us—death and starvation dogging us at every step. The faintest picture of our suffering would fail to be realised by an English mind ignorant of this country and its people. I can hardly finish this letter from exhaustion. The political agent has placed us under the protection of the Rana, who has us in his winter palace, and paid us the unusual compliment of a visit yesterday morning. He has sent clothes to cover the naked. Fortunately no one died, though we had cholera on the road."

A letter from Dr. Murray, attached to the 72nd native infantry, says—"The night of the 3rd was one of the loveliest I have ever seen. The moon shone bright and clear, and not a cloud was seen throughout the whole expanse of heaven. About eleven o'clock I had my bed brought outside, as usual, where the sentry was pacing up and down, and lay down in my clothes, having merely changed my coat for a dressing-gown. I had not been half-an-hour on my bed when two guns were fired, at intervals of a few seconds, by Walker's battery: this was evidently a preconcerted signal, for immediately after several shots were fired in the direction of the cavalry lines, and bungalow after bungalow was set on fire. I assembled my night-guard at once, and wanted them to accompany me to Captain Laurie's house, where I expected to find some ladies, whom I intended to escort

towards the fort or fortified square. The *naik* (or corporal) said there was no use in going, that we should be killed by the cavalry, and strongly advised me to retire. I was going over myself, when I saw the naik of Captain Macdonald's guard running towards me; he was in a great state of excitement, and, taking hold of me by the arm, begged me not to go that way; the *mem log* (ladies), he said, had all fled, and the place was now filled by the mutineers. I saw some natives running about wildly, and presently several shots were fired not far from where I was standing. '*Chullo sahib, golee chulte*' ('Come along, sir, the balls are flying about'), said the naik, who now entreated me to leave the place, or I should be killed. Seeing that the affair had at last become serious, I desired my *syce* (or groom) to saddle my horse and bring him over to the fort. The naik said, 'For God's sake, sahib, don't go to the fort—fly at once into the country.' I asked him what he meant. He answered, 'All the fighting will take place in the fort.' 'All right,' I said, 'I am going to fight too.' Upon this he insisted on going with me, and called out to two sepoys of the guard to follow.

"I arrived at the fort just as the left wing, under Lieutenant Rose, was entering; the right wing, under Captain Macdonald, had already lined the ramparts and bastions, and presented a somewhat formidable appearance. The whole regiment being now inside, the gate was ordered to be shut, the drawbridge taken up, and a strong party, under Lieutenants Gurdon and Davenport, was planted to guard the entrance. I went on the ramparts, where I found Captain Macdonald encouraging the men, and telling them that the artillery could do them no harm, as they had no shells. Lieutenant Rose was also on the ramparts, doing his best to encourage the men. I was sorry to learn from him that he had been fired at by a sepoy of the regiment immediately after he had given the order for the left wing to march to the fort. I looked upon this as a bad sign, for I had all along felt confident that the greater part of the regiment would stand by us. The fact of their not attempting to seize the mutineer who fired at Lieutenant Rose shook my faith in them very much.

"Shortly after we were all in the fort, and while the work of destruction was being carried on outside by the mutineers of the other regiments composing the force—troop of horse artillery, wing of 1st light cavalry, and 72nd regiment of native infantry—Captain Macdonald got out the colours of the 7th, carried them himself along the rampart, and unfurling them on the right front bastion, called on the men to protect them. This they declared they would do.

"From time to time I walked along the ramparts, talking to the sepoys and encouraging them to hold out. I explained to many of them the high reward that Captain Lloyd, superintendent of Neemuch, had guaranteed to every individual among them who assisted in protecting the treasure and fort; and that, if they behaved well, and remained 'true to their salt,' the government would certainly reward them handsomely. Several of the men assured me, they would die rather than surrender: others said, they would hold out against infantry and cavalry; but if artillery attacked them, they would be obliged to give in. It was a magnificent but lamentable sight that presented itself to our view as we stood for nearly three hours on the ramparts, expecting an attack every moment. Upwards of forty bungalows and innumerable haystacks were blazing away before us, the flames shooting high up in the air, brightening the whole cantonment and fort, and throwing a lurid glare round the country for miles.

"About a quarter to three A.M. four men of the grenadier company came up to me and said, 'Doctor sahib, it is no use holding out any longer; we are not now under the orders of the major; we are commanded by Pirthee Sing, subahdar of the grenadier company. If you don't believe us,' they continued, 'come and see for yourself.' I went with them to the left rear bastion, where I found a large body of the regiment (at least 150), and Pirthee Sing at their head. One of the sepoys said to him, 'The doctor sahib has come.' He had just then been addressing some of the men, and turning round to me, said, 'You had better all leave the fort before it be too late.' Another sepoy, standing close by, said aloud, 'We are now under Pirthee Sing's orders.' I went back to report the circumstance to Captain Macdonald, but meeting Lieutenant Rose (second in command), I reported it to him. He said, 'It was a bad business, and he would go at once and tell Macdonald.' A few minutes after, the artillery commenced firing again, and hear-

ing a row at the gate, I hastened down, and found that the party under Lieutenants Gurdon and Davenport had mutinied, and were forcing their way through the gate. Captain Macdonald, Lieutenants Rose, Gurdon, Davenport, and myself, with Sergeants Nesbitt and Lane, tried all we could to prevent their leaving, but to no purpose; most of the men had their bayonets fixed; and presently the whole regiment, nearly 700 strong, left the ramparts and bastions, and slowly but steadily forced their way out of the fort. We (the officers) were taken on by the tide, and got separated in the crowd. Two sepoys of the grenadier company, who were with me all the time, insisted on my going away before the cavalry came down upon us. They said, 'Your lives are safe among your own men, but we cannot answer for the artillery and cavalry.' Seeing it would be madness to remain any longer, I and Dr. Gane left them.

"Just as the day began to dawn, we arrived at a village, which we afterwards found to be Kussaunda. Although we had not walked above five miles, yet, the ground being heavy, we were quite tired, and half dead with thirst. We knocked up one of the villagers, an old man, and asked him for some water. He immediately brought us to a well, where there was a cistern quite full; and we both sat down, and had a regular libation. I verily believe our guide thought we would never leave off drinking. I gave him a rupee (2*s.*), which pleased him mightily, and asked him to show us the head man of the village. This he did at once. We found him in a small fort, surrounded by some half-dozen men. I told him we wished to rest there for an hour or so, and asked him if we could do so. He said, 'Most certainly,' and received us with great civility, had a place cleared for us immediately in his own house, and begged we would make ourselves comfortable. He sent for milk, chupatties, dâll, rice, and mangoes, and entreated us to eat. After partaking of some refreshment, we lay down and had a nap. We were not destined, however, to remain long at rest. About 9 A.M., a party of the 1st light cavalry, who were scouring the country, arrived at Kussaunda, and insisted on having the sahibs out, in order that they might *saf kuro* them (polish them off; kill them.) '*Mar dalo Feringhee*' (kill the Europeans) was their cry. Dr. Gane and I would have stood no chance against these scoundrels; and we were indebted for our lives to the gallant conduct of the Rajpoots of the village, who swore they would stand by us to the last. They said, 'You have eaten with us, and are our guests; and now, if you were our greatest enemy, we would defend you.' They put us in a small dilapidated shed on one of the bastions, and when the troopers demanded us, declared we were not there. After much altercation, the troopers threatened to attack the village if we were not given up. The Rajpoots warned them to be careful. They said, 'Kussaunda belongs to the rana (the rana of Odeypoor.) We are his subjects; and if you molest us, he will send 10,000 soldiers after you.' They went away in a great rage, threatening to return with the guns in the evening and blow us to pieces.

"About one o'clock we were agreeably surprised by seeing an artillery sergeant (Sergeant Supple, an active and gallant soldier) walk into our little fort: we thought at first he was being pursued by the cavalry; but he informed us that he was in search of the brigade-major. He told us also that Captain Lloyd, Captain Macdonald, and several officers of the 7th Gwalior contingent, were at the village of Daroo, only three miles off. This was good news. He said he would gallop off and bring us assistance; and soon we were glad to see him put his horse out at full speed, and scour across the country in the direction of Daroo.

"Hour after hour passed away, and no assistance arriving from Daroo, we began to think that our friends there were in as great a fix as ourselves; and such we afterwards discovered was really the case. In consultation with our Rajpoot friends, it was decided that we should go on to Chota Sadree, a distance of about sixteen miles, that same night. They were afraid that the cavalry would be as good as their word, and return with the guns. Accordingly, we left Kussaunda shortly after sunset, escorted by several Rajpoots, and arrived at Chota Sadree about ten o'clock. Our route lay through dense jungle, and, being on foot (for my horse was stolen by the mutineers), we were a good deal knocked up by the time we arrived there; and, to our disappointment, we were told that all the Europeans had left an hour before for Burra Sadree, sixteen miles further on. Our reception was cold in the extreme;

they did not want us to remain there a moment, and would scarcely give us even a drink of water. I sent two men to inform the kumashdar that we wanted to see him; but they came back, saying it was too late; he would not see us, but advised us to hasten on after the other sahibs. There were lots of horses and camels picketed about, a couple of which we wanted to hire, but they refused to let us have them; they said they would sell them to us, but not hire them. Considering the state of our finances, buying was of course out of the question. Nothing remained now but to quit this inhospitable place, and push on for Burra Sadree. Our escort from Kussaunda left us, and in their place we got two Bheel guides; so, after remaining about twenty minutes in Chota Sadree, we pushed on for the next stage. In about an hour and a-half we reached a small village in the heart of the jungle, called Bheeliya Kegaon. Here we received very great kindness; the Bheels seemed to vie with each other in their hospitality; they spoke to us of the benefits they received under British rule, and abused the mutineers in no measured terms; the women were thoroughly indignant, and expressed a hope that vengeance would speedily overtake the traitors. We remained with the worthy Bheels about an hour, and having procured a couple of ponies, started for Burra Sadree, which place we reached about nine o'clock next day, and were delighted to meet all our friends of the 7th Gwalior contingent, 1st cavalry, and artillery. At Burra Sadree we parted with our Bheel guides, to whom we gave a few rupees, and in place of the pony I was fortunate in getting the loan of a spare charger, and Dr. Gane succeeded in getting a gharry. The whole party started from Burra Sadree about 2 P.M., and arrived at Doongla about 7 P.M. Here we remained two days, when we were joined by Captain Showers, political agent of Meywar, who hastened from Odeypoor with a strong force of the rana's choicest troops, and determined on giving chase to the mutineers at once."

The wife of an officer who happened to be resident at Neemuch at the time of the outbreak, furnished the subjoined details of the occurrence, in a letter to her brother in England, dated June 17th. The husband of this lady had been for a short time stationed, with a detachment of his regiment, at Rotain, and was consequently away from his family at the crisis: two of his sons were with him, and also escaped the peril of the night of June 3rd. This lady writes:—"About three weeks since, reports of coming danger and mutiny among the three regiments here began to spread, fires at night took place, false alarms were constantly raised, the natives fled from the bazaars, and a repetition of the horrors of Meerut and Delhi was hourly expected. We dared not go to bed at night, and our days were full of anticipated horrors. At last things wore so gloomy an aspect, that I sent off an express to my husband for his advice. Another express was sent by the authorities here, urging him to lose no time in collecting all the forces under his command and come to Neemuch for the protection of the inhabitants. He did so, and set out with cavalry and infantry and a couple of guns—altogether 1,500 men, marching ninety miles in three days, with a burning sun and hot winds blowing. In the meantime a timely notice was given to my boys that the mutiny would soon take place, and the coming storm seemed so near that we left our home just as we were on the point of sitting down to dinner, with merely a change of clothes in our hands, and went off to a place about ten miles distant, where our eldest son had the care of a small fort. We arrived there late at night with a couple of very frightened friends, whom we protected on the way; and, though we did sleep on the ground, we thought ourselves fortunate in having comparatively safe ground to lie down upon. One day of rest and then came the storm; all Neemuch in flames, and all terror-stricken. My boys guarded the fort by night and by day. We were every hour expecting the people of the city (Jewud) to rise and destroy us, when early in the morning there came to the gates fifteen officers, six ladies, and three young children. They had all run for their lives. We let them in. They had run all the way, with only the clothes on their backs. We fed them, and tried to give them that hope and comfort of which we ourselves were destitute. An hour afterwards, and a bright gleam of sunshine! Who should arrive to our help but my husband and two boys! They had come on sixteen miles ahead of the little army, which was too knocked-up to proceed. This was real joy for the time, but was soon damped; for not many hours passed before the intelligence came that all the mutineers,

with their guns, were on their way to attack Jewud; and as we well knew that the fort could not resist guns, we all, with our companions in misery, made a clear start to my husband's camp, sixteen miles off, which we reached, jaded, terror-stricken, and all very dirty. Again we all slept on the ground, my husband and boys doing everything for everybody; and the following day we took our little army to do battle with the insurgents; but they had heard of Charles and his force, and started off another road. The cowardly rascals had sent their messengers into Charles's camp, and offered 1,000 rupees for his head, and 500 for each member of his family; and this, we have since learned, was done through the medium of two men, who have for the present escaped hanging, whose bad conduct at Jeypore had caused their imprisonment in the gaol at Neemuch. The mutineers had broke open the gaol, and these men joined them. Well, we returned to Neemuch, and found not more than half-a-dozen people left—ruin and desolation in every direction. None of us escaped with more than one change of garments, some not even that; and all here are alike beggars. Our house, like all others, is a ruin, a shell, without one article left us. Our beautiful books, either torn or burnt; our furniture broken up, chopped in pieces, or carried off; not a cup, plate, or glass left; carpets torn up, or carried away; not a single garment of any kind; our silver dishes gone; doors, windows smashed; trinkets and curiosities, of which I had a goodly store, all taken away or destroyed—even the pictures and punkahs, and the chimney pulled down to see if anything had been hidden in it. We have now nothing left. The shopkeepers have lost everything, so that we have not the means of buying common clothes. Charles has lost property to the amount of 14,000 rupees. Our own servants assisted in the plunder, and they loaded four of our horses to carry away the most valuable part of our property. Luckily, we had camels and horses with us on our flight, or these also would have been taken.

"I will say no more now; but this is but a small portion of our woes. Last night I slept on a couch. It is the first time for fifteen nights that I have had so good a bed, and last night I took off my clothes; for thirteen nights I dare not do this for fear that we should again have to fly. Our boys have behaved most bravely and nobly, and their conduct has been justly admired by all. My husband has the proud satisfaction of knowing that he saved (through the mercy and guidance of God) not only the lives of his own wife and children, but of his brother-officers and their families; and all belonging to Neemuch; and this all most gratefully acknowledge. Had he not come to our rescue when he did, every soul of us would have been murdered. We are not yet out of danger. It hangs over every white face in this portion of unhappy India; and I ask your prayers and those of all my dear brothers; we need all your prayers to God on our behalf. E. J. B."

The occurrences at Neemuch having given rise to some unpleasant remarks in a portion of the Bombay press, in the course of which the conduct of Colonel Abbott, of the 72nd regiment, was severely commented upon, the chief political superintendent at Neemuch addressed the following note to Colonel Carmichael, secretary to the governor of Bombay.* The gallant officer writes thus:—"Having just been informed that the Bombay newspapers contain some very severe strictures on the conduct of Colonel Abbott (72nd regiment), commanding at Neemuch, I venture to add—and trust my doing so may not, under the circumstances, be deemed out of place—that throughout the trying time preceding the mutiny, the colonel's conduct was the admiration of every officer at Neemuch; and there can be no doubt, but that his admirable tact and management, and the influence he possessed over the men, delayed the catastrophe by several days. To avert it entirely was impossible; but I trust it will be believed that every possible effort was made to do so."

* Parl. Papers, 1857.

CHAPTER XIII.

DISQUIETUDE AT BENARES; ASPECT OF THE HOLY CITY; ARRIVAL OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NEILL WITH MADRAS FUSILIERS; DISAFFECTION OF THE 37TH NATIVE INFANTRY; PREPARATIONS FOR DISARMING THE REGIMENT; INSUBORDINATION ON PARADE; THE OUTBREAK OF THE MUTINY; DEFECTION OF THE SIKHS AND IRREGULAR CAVALRY; ATTACK AND DISPERSION OF THE REBELS; DESTRUCTION OF THE NATIVE LINES; OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PRIVATE DETAILS; OUTBREAKS AT JUANPORE AND SULTANPORE.

AVERTING our eyes for a short time from the contemplation of pages necessarily filled with continuous details of fanatic cruelty and of human endurance, unsurpassed, in extent and heroism, even by the trials to which the early martyrs of our faith were exposed, or by the courage that has borne the meekest of our species to a triumphant death in the face of accumulated terrors, we shall for a moment turn from the gloom that overwhelms this subject, to introduce a brief sketch of the city of Benares, preparatory to describing the incidents of the first mutinous outbreak by which it was agitated. The district of which the city of Benares is the capital, comprises an area of about 12,000 square miles, between 24° and 26° N. lat. The city itself, 460 miles N.W. from Calcutta, is situated in 25° 30′ N. lat., and 81° E. long., on the northern bank of the Ganges, which, flowing beneath the walls, varies in breadth from 1,500 to 3,000 feet. From the river, the view of Benares (*Cashi*, or *the Splendid*), for ages regarded as the holiest of the holy cities of the Hindoos, is exceedingly fine: "in its front the Ganges forms a bay, the river-front of the city having a semicircular outline. The immense mass of houses rising, at successive elevations every few yards, from the river bank, and extending far inland, with their overtopping pinnacles, and minarets of temples and mosques, glittering in the sun, and gracefully intermingled with the foliage of majestic trees; the numerous ghauts, with their apparently never-ending flights of steps, and the life and bustle amongst the crowds performing their ablutions in the sacred water at their base, form, combined, a scene of striking beauty and interest."* Benares—which may be considered the Hindoo, as Delhi was the Mohammedan, and Calcutta is the British, capital of India—has always formed the grand depository of the Brahminical religion and learning of the country, and, consequently, the number and variety of its temples and other pious foundations, is exceedingly great. Its resident or stationary population has been estimated at 600,000; but at certain festivals, the number of people resorting thither for worship, is almost beyond computation, pilgrims coming from all parts of India, as well as from Thibet and Burmah. The principal temple, called Visweswar or Bisesar, is dedicated to Siva (the destroyer), of whom it contains a sacred image, before which the bloody sacrifices of idolatry have been offered for ages. A college for the instruction of the Hindoos in their own literature, was established by the British government in 1801; and some remains of an observatory, erected by the emperor Aurungzebe at the close of the seventeenth century, still exist. On the site of a magnificent Hindoo temple, purposely destroyed by that emperor, a splendid mosque was erected by his orders, whose golden-topped minarets crown the holy city. The houses of Benares are chiefly built of brick or stone, and many of them are five or six stories high, with small windows next the street, and terraced roofs. The thoroughfares generally are narrow; and whatever anticipations of pleasure may have been excited by a distant view of the city, the filth by which its streets are polluted, renders a close acquaintance with its intricacies anything but agreeable. The European community chiefly reside in the suburb of Seroli, about three miles from the city, where are some very neat edifices, surrounded by gardens and grounds, laid out with considerable taste. To die at Benares constitutes the chief aim and felicity on earth of a Hindoo, as he then feels assurance of immediate admission into heaven, through immersion in the Ganges at the moment of dissolution, by which act all his transgressions are obliterated. Should he be far distant from the holy city and the sacred stream, the Brahmins en-

* Roberts's *Hindostan*.

join that he should think intensely of the Ganges at the hour of death, that he may not fail of his reward. To die within sight of the stream is pronounced to be holy; to die besmeared with its mud, and partly immersed in the river, holier still; and even to be drowned in it by accident is supposed to secure eternal happiness. Hundreds of living children have been annually cast into the stream to propitiate Siva, and atone for the sin of their souls. This species of infanticide was, however, suppressed by Lord Wellesley,* during his first administration of the Indian government. Several of the native Hindoo princes still keep agents at Benares, whose sole duty is to offer sacrifices on behalf of their patrons. The city was ceded to the East India Company by the nawab of Oude; and, in 1799, the resident (Mr. Cherry), with three other English gentlemen, were there treacherously murdered by Vizier Ali, an illegitimate son of the deposed nawab.† Since that event, until the present time, Benares and its inhabitants have enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity. The European residents consist chiefly of government officials, the officers attached to the native regiments, and members of the circuit court, &c. The palace of the rajah of Benares is situated at Ramnuggur, on the opposite side of the river, and consists of a large, straggling, castellated edifice, parts of which rise abruptly from the water's edge, with terraces, temples, and a pretty detached harem; the whole being protected by a strong embattled wall, mounted with guns for its defence.

We resume our narrative of the mutinies. Up to the latter part of May, the conduct of the troops at Benares, consisting of the 37th regiment of native infantry, a regiment of Sikhs, and a portion of the 13th irregular cavalry, was most satisfactory. A telegraphic message from Brigadier Ponsonby, the officer commanding at that station, after informing the secretary to government of the dearness of provisions at that time (May 20th), says—"While the present emergency lasts, I beg to recommend that the troops at Benares be allowed full batta. I would be glad to be able to give this grant out to my men and the Sikhs, to show that, in return for their excellent behaviour, I have of my own accord taken care of their interests. I have already guaranteed to the 13th irregular cavalry that they shall not be put to any annoyance by their move into Benares, where grain and grass are very dear. In this I have the support of the commissioner."—That no encouragement might be wanting for the satisfaction of the men, the telegraph of the same day from Calcutta conveyed back the following message:—"Government approves of your having guaranteed to the 13th irregular cavalry that they shall not be put to any inconvenience by their move with respect to grain and grass for the horses. Extra batta cannot be allowed to the troops at Benares; but the regulations admit of compensation when the price of provisions forming their diet exceeds three rupees eight annas a month. This should be explained to the men; and they should be informed that government has learnt with much satisfaction that their behaviour has been so good. A general order has just been issued, authorising officers in command to promote very meritorious men; under that order you may be able to reward the good conduct of the regiments at Benares."

The daily reports, forwarded to the governor-general, maintained the same favourable tone. That of the 23rd of May says—"Everything perfectly quiet, both in the lines and city of Benares, and in the whole Benares division; and likely, with God's blessing, to continue so. I am quite easy and confident."—A message of the 24th was to the same effect; and, on the 31st, the confidence of the officer in command was yet unshaken, and appears to

* Montgomery Martin's *India*, p. 511.

† The turbulent and dangerous character of Vizier Ali, the rival candidate for the dominion of Oude, rendered it advisable to remove his residence from Benares to Calcutta. The youth remonstrated strongly, but without effect; and while visiting, by appointment, the British resident, Mr. Cherry, he spoke in violent terms of the hardship of the threatened coercion. The resident is represented to have behaved with much moderation; but Vizier Ali, giving vent to rage, started up and made a thrust at him with his sword—an example which, according to Eastern custom, was immediately followed by his attendants. Mr. Cherry was killed while attempting to escape through a window, and two of his companions shared his fate. The assassins, apparently in the hope of heading a general insurrection, hurried to the residence of the English magistrate, Mr. Davis, who, after sending his wife and family to the terrace on the top of the house, seized a long spear, took up his position on a narrow staircase, and delayed their ascent until a party of horse arrived, and put them all to flight.—(Martin's *India*, p. 385.)

have continued so until noon of the 3rd of June, if the subjoined message may be relied on.

"Benares, June 3rd. 12 noon.—All quiet throughout the Benares division." At 4 P.M. of the same day another message was transmitted, announcing the arrival of Colonel Neill and a small party of the Madras fusiliers, on their way up the country; but no mention is made of any appearance of discontent or insubordination whatever.

The result of the outbreak at Azimgurh had the effect of scattering a portion of the mutinous soldiers from that station in the direction of Benares; and then, for the first time, apprehension began to be entertained as to the fidelity of the 37th regiment. The events that succeeded the arrival of a party of the mutineers, are briefly glanced at in the following official report, forwarded by the Indian government to the court of directors:*—"On the news of the mutiny at Azimgurh reaching Benares, a rising of the 37th native infantry was anticipated, and the authorities determined to disarm that corps. Accordingly, the European troops and battery were paraded and marched on the lines of the 37th. The regiment of Loodiana (Sikhs), and the irregular cavalry, one squadron of the 13th, were also under arms. On the Europeans approaching the 37th, that corps opened fire on them, which was returned by the European infantry and artillery. As the regiment of Loodiana was advancing, the resaldar of the irregular cavalry rode up to the corps, and called out that his men had mutinied. Some shots were fired by the irregular cavalry, on which the Sikhs paused and turned round, some firing towards the cavalry, others towards the Europeans; on which the guns were turned on the Sikhs, who soon dispersed. The 37th, in the meantime, had been dispersed, and their lines were set on fire. The men of the 37th, Sikhs, and irregular cavalry, passed through cantonments, and took the road to Juanpore. Some of the Sikhs remained faithful, and protected the treasury, while others protected their officers. Some of the irregular cavalry also proved faithful. The district and town appear pretty quiet, and matters appear satisfactory up to the latest date, the 18th."—So much for the official skeleton of history: we must endeavour to put flesh upon the bones before us.

During the night of the 1st of June, the residents of Benares were aroused by an alarm of fire that had broken out in the cantonments, a short distance from the city. Upon investigation, there appeared grounds for believing that the conflagration had been purposely occasioned by some men of the 37th native infantry, with a view to draw away the few European soldiers who had charge of the guns, and thus furnish opportunity for them to take possession of the artillery. The *ruse* was unsuccessful. The Europeans were immediately under arms, and stood by their guns; and the 37th, to their great mortification, were ordered to extinguish the fire, which they proceeded to do with evident chagrin and reluctance.

Upon due consideration of the circumstances attending this incendiary attempt, it was resolved by Brigadier Ponsonby, on the advice of his officers, to disarm the men of the 37th regiment as early and as quietly as circumstances would admit. The necessity for this step became more apparent when, in the course of the day, intelligence reached Benares that the native regiment at Azimgurh had broken into revolt, and seized the public treasury, amounting to about seventeen lacs (£170,000), and that the men were then probably on their way to the sacred city. This report had spread among the sepoys even before it reached the ears of the authorities, and it had the effect of greatly exciting the whole body, which did not conceal its satisfaction at the occurrence.

It happened opportunely, that on Wednesday, the 3rd instant, Colonel Neill, of the 1st Madras fusiliers, had arrived at Benares with a detachment of his regiment, accompanied by twenty gunners, with three 9-pounders. The garrison, thus reinforced, consisted of 150 men of her majesty's 10th regiment, the 37th native infantry, a Sikh regiment, commanded by Colonel Gordon; about seventy men of the 13th irregular cavalry, under Captain Guise; a battery of 9-pounders, with thirty gunners, and Colonel Neill's fusiliers.

Upon the unsatisfactory state of the 37th regiment being reported to Colonel Neill, he resolved upon disarming it without further delay, in opposition to the plan of Brigadier Ponsonby, who desired to postpone the operation until the following morning: the colonel was, however, inflexible; and ultimately a parade of the European force, with the Madras fusiliers, was ordered at five o'clock in the evening of the 4th; the 37th regiment being required to

* Parl. Papers, 1857.

appear on the ground without arms. Simultaneously with the promulgation of this order, the bells of arms were secured; and this operation being observed by the disaffected men, added greatly to the excitement already prevailing among them.

At five o'clock the troops were paraded. A few men of the 37th had obeyed the order to appear without arms; others refused to do so, and some confusion necessarily arose from the insubordination that prevailed on the ground. Meanwhile the greater part of the regiment which had not turned out gathered round the bells of arms, and as soon as they became aware of the object for which the European force was paraded, they burst open the doors, and seized their weapons, with which they now repaired to the parade and joined their comrades, who had remained standing in groups, without making any other offensive demonstration. With a view of intimidating the disaffected men, the whole of the troops, including the Sikhs and irregulars, had been drawn up in front of the position left vacant for the 37th regiment, with three guns ready shotted and prepared for instant service. In the arrangement of the forces, the Europeans were stationed within musket-range, the Sikhs and irregulars being at the extreme verge of the ground.

On noticing these preparations, the men of the 37th found the time for action had arrived, and they immediately opened fire upon their officers and the European troops, at the same time retiring towards their lines. For a time the Sikh regiment remained passive spectators of the outrage; but upon their colonel giving the order to load with ball, an ominous change came over the men. At the same moment the irregular cavalry advanced, but presently broke into confusion. The Sikhs now joined the 37th in firing upon the Europeans; several officers were wounded, and two men of the 10th regiment killed. The guns immediately poured a shower of grape into the ranks of the mutineers; and after a faint attempt at resistance, the 37th broke away from their position, followed by the greater portion of the irregular cavalry, and sought safety behind the huts of the cantonments. At the commencement, Captain Guise, of the irregulars, was shot at by a rebel sepoy of the 37th regiment, whom he pursued; and his horse falling, the assassin had time to reload and fire before the unfortunate officer could extricate himself. The second shot was aimed with precision, and Captain Guise fell to the ground a corpse. Several of the mutineers halted in their flight to look upon their murdered leader, but no indignities were offered to his remains. The sepoys still kept up a smart fire upon the little body of Europeans, who, as they advanced to dislodge them from the huts, laboured under the disadvantage of having to deal with an enemy effectually sheltered. The European officers of the 37th regiment* took post with the 10th, and were exposed to a smart fire from their own men, which continued for some twenty minutes, when, as our soldiers began to drop rather fast, the order was given to charge the huts. The operation was speedily performed; and the mutineers having been driven from their shelter, the whole of the buildings were set fire to and destroyed. While these matters were in progress, the irregular cavalry and Sikhs became bewildered, and began fighting at random. Three times the latter charged the guns, and were repulsed, with considerable loss; above one hundred of the mutineers were killed upon the ground, and more than twice that number lay wounded. The lives of the civilians and of the officers' families in cantonments, were saved through the instrumentality of a Sikh prisoner, Soorut Sing, who prevailed upon the Sikhs of the treasury guard to remain tranquil after they were informed of the conduct of their comrades on the parade. At a late hour in the evening the ladies were conveyed to the Mint, a fortified house between the city and the cantonments, where they could be effectually protected: the transit was not, however, unaccompanied by danger, the party being repeatedly fired at on the way by straggling parties of

* The majority of the officers of the 37th had fallen back at once upon the European column. Major Barrett, however, indignant at the way in which men whom he believed to be good sepoys had been dealt with, resolved, as he told them, to share their fate, and, along with the European sergeant-major, remained for some time exposed to the fire opened from the half battery, as also from the European musketry upon the huts. But the sepoys' worst blood was up, and several of them fired upon their confiding officer, others attacking him with their fixed bayonets. He was, consequently, compelled to flee for his life; and a guard of faithful sepoys (principally of the grenadier company), having formed round his person, they, with considerable difficulty and risk, conducted him in safety to his bungalow in the cantonments. The sergeant-major also was saved by the same friendly escort.

the irregulars, some of whom managed to send three balls through the turban of a native coachman, while conveying ladies to the rendezvous; fortunately, both the driver and his charge escaped unhurt. Upon the restoration of order, a handsome subscription was raised among the European families, for the purpose of presenting Soorut Sing with a splendid case of fire-arms, in acknowledgment of his generous and timely protection.

The following report from Lieutenant-colonel J. G. Neill, to the adjutant-general of the army, dated "Benares, June 6th, 1857," gives the official detail of the occurrence we have narrated:—

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that I arrived here on the 3rd inst. with a detachment of the regiment under my command (1st Madras fusiliers), and found sixty of my men and three officers, who had preceded me here. A company of men were about two days in rear, and three more were following up by bullock-train. I had arranged to start with a detachment of the regiment for Cawnpore on the afternoon of the 4th; but on that afternoon intelligence was received from Lieutenant Palliser, in command of a detachment of fifty sowars of the 13th irregular cavalry, sent out to escort treasure from Azimgurh to this, that the 17th regiment had broken out into open mutiny, and, joined by the city people and gaol prisoners, had left the station and attacked his party and captured the treasure, his infantry escort acting with them. On this intelligence reaching Benares, Brigadier Ponsonby consulted with me about taking the muskets from the 37th, leaving them their side-arms. He proposed waiting until the following morning to do this. I urged its being done at once, to which he agreed, and left my quarters to make his arrangements, directing me to be present with the Europeans, as per margin,* at 5 P.M. The Sikh regiment, in which Lieutenant-colonel Gordon placed much confidence, and a party of about seventy of the 13th irregular cavalry, who were dispatched, were to join the Europeans in their demonstration. Brigadier Ponsonby came on parade at the hour appointed; but I observed that he appeared far from well, and perfectly unable to act with energy or the vigour required on the emergency. We moved up the Europeans and guns towards the 37th, the Sikhs advancing upon the other flank of that corps, followed by irregular cavalry. On approaching the bells of arms of the 37th, the sepoys of that corps seized their arms, loaded them, and opened fire upon us, which was immediately returned with considerable execution by the artillery and Europeans, the Sikh regiment not having yet come up. At this time several of our men fell wounded, and the brigadier was on his back on the ground, seemingly struck by a stroke of the sun, and declared himself quite unfit for anything, and begged that being the next senior officer, I would at once assume command, which I accordingly did, and directed a dash on the lines with the Europeans and Sikhs in line on each flank of the artillery. I was on the right of our men in the lines when an alarm was given, and I found the Sikhs had suddenly halted, wavered, and eventually gone about and dispersed, having first, however, fired at and tried to shoot their commanding officer and adjutant, and fired upon and wounded several other officers, and fired upon the squadron of irregular cavalry drawn up in rear of them. I believe, from all I have observed and been told, that with a few exceptions, the Sikhs were supposed to be quite stanch; they seemed in the greatest spirits and anxious to be led against the 37th. The cause of their sudden panic and extraordinary conduct is supposed to have been the turmoil caused in their rear by a sowar of the 13th irregular cavalry having fired at and attempted to cut down the brigade-major, Captain Dodgson, on his riding up to assume command of them by the brigadier's order (their own commanding officer having been killed before reaching parade by the men of the 37th native infantry.) On hearing the shot and shouts, the Sikhs turned round and fired on their officers and our men: one man who had fired at Colonel Gordon was immediately shot by one of his havildars.

"The artillery, on observing the disaffection of the Sikhs, opened upon them with considerable effect; they broke and ran, as did the irregular cavalry. After this, I completed the expulsion of the 37th regiment from their lines, and burnt them, and withdrew my men and guns into position

* Three guns of No. 12 field battery and 30 men, under Captain Olphertz; her majesty's 10th, 150 men and three officers; Madras fusiliers, 60 men and three officers.

in the barrack, securing myself for the night. Early next morning I sent out parties and brought in the arms, accoutrements, and colours of the 37th that had been left in their lines, as also some of the Sikhs. I also arranged with the civil authorities to remove the treasure from its most insecure and unmilitary position in the civil lines, and detached a party, consisting of one hundred men of her majesty's 10th and Madras fusiliers, and twenty-five sowars, irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, and had it all brought up and secured in the barracks.

"On my arriving here, I had observed and expressed my opinion on the insecurity of this treasure, under charge only of a native guard of Sikhs, who, however, stood firm, and deserve the greatest credit for their loyal conduct. I consider the peril in which this treasure has been placed has been for some time imminent; and I feel assured that had the steps taken against the 37th been deferred until the following morning, the outbreak would have taken place that night when unprepared, and no efficient assistance could have been rendered by the troops to the European families in cantonments, who would have been left to the mercy of the miscreants let loose on such an occasion. I had a party of Madras fusiliers at a building called the Mint, and arranged with the brigadier before going on parade, that, should any disturbance occur, all the families should go there for protection. This was carried out, the party of Europeans there giving confidence and acting as a check to plunderers; the mutineers, who broke and fled, deserted cantonments rapidly, many of them throwing away their arms. I now hold the barracks and Mint-house, between cantonments and city, with my Europeans, and have some native guards of trustworthy men as pickets in different parts of cantonments, and feel the cantonments are all safe; and when a few more European troops come up, I intend planting a picket at the church, when all the houses in cantonments may, I consider, with safety be again occupied. About ninety of the irregular cavalry remained faithful, and are now doing duty, patrolling and keeping off the 'budmashes' from the city from entering cantonments. About 190 of the Sikh regiment, who were on treasure and other guards, are still with us, and remain faithful. A few of them I have promoted for their good conduct when the regiment broke and fled. A further report will be made on this subject, as well as regarding some men of the irregular cavalry I have also promoted for loyalty and good conduct.

"I beg to state that we have lost several officers and soldiers on this unfortunate occasion, as follows:—

"*Killed.*—Captain Guise, commanding irregular cavalry, murdered by 37th men; one apothecary, her majesty's 10th, ditto; two men, her majesty's 10th, shot on parade. *Wounded.*—Shot on parade. Ensign Chapman, 37th regiment, native infantry, dangerously; Ensign Hayter, 25th native infantry, doing duty, 37th, dangerously; Ensign Tweedie, 4th native infantry, doing duty, 37th, severely; eight privates, her majesty's 10th; Quartermaster-sergeant Maidman, 25th native infantry, doing duty with Sikh regiment, severely.

"All ranks behaved as British soldiers; the hard work and exposure to the sun was most cheerfully borne. I beg to bring to notice, particularly, the assistance I have received from Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, commanding the Sikhs; Lieutenant-colonel Spottiswoode, 37th; the brigade-major, Captain Dodgson; Captain Olpherts, commanding the artillery; and Lieutenant Gosling, adjutant, Madras fusiliers.

"I have, &c.—J. G. NEILL, Lieut.-col.

"P.S.—I have strengthened Chunar by a small detachment of her majesty's 84th, with three officers of the 37th, and dispatched to Allahabad by Garee horse dâk this evening fifty men of Madras fusiliers, the same number following to-morrow, and as quick as I can spare them, to that post and Cawnpore."

The following extracts from a letter of Brigadier Ponsonby, dated from Benares, June 13th, somewhat differs in its personal statement from the report of Lieutenant-colonel Neill, who had superseded him in his command; and it is only due to both officers, that it should also appear in these pages:—"I dispatched my last letter on the 3rd inst., and on the 4th most important events occurred here. The troops consisted of the 37th regiment of native infantry, some 700 or 800 strong; the Sikh regiment, one-half that number; the 15th irregular cavalry, 700 strong; and about 200 Europeans of her majesty's 84th and of the Madras fusiliers, with three guns manned by European artillerymen. Colonel Gordon, my second in command, an excel-

lent officer, came to me, and said he had been informed, that the men of the 37th were plotting with the bad characters in the city. We agreed to go to the commissioner, Mr. Tucker, who recommended our going to Mr. Frederick Gubbins, the judge here. It then transpired that the men of the 37th were much implicated, and Gordon advised the regiment should be disarmed at once. After some discussion, I agreed. We had no time (it being between 4 and 5 P.M.) to lose, and but little arrangement could be made (fortunately.) I had a long drive, and ride also, through the sun; and such a sun! I marched the Europeans and guns in front of the lines of the 37th, who were taken by surprise, with Brigadier Handscomb's fate fresh in my mind. I halted the Europeans, and went up to the men of the main guard, 37th, told them they were only required to lay down their arms, and no harm should occur to them. They refused; said they had committed no fault; they shouted to their comrades, who ran for their arms, and began to fire on us. I then, having joined the Europeans, ordered them to open fire, and a sharp fusillade on both sides ensued. The Sikhs proved traitors, as did the irregulars; but a few rounds of grape from the guns, and the sharp practice of the Europeans, sent them all flying in terror, throwing away their arms and accoutrements, and escaping as they best could. Captain Guise, the officer commanding the irregulars, was shot by a man of the 37th, who some days ago began to boast publicly in the city of the exploit; the police seized him, and he was tried and hanged with several others. Some of the 37th, of the Sikhs, and of the 13th irregulars, did not join the mutineers, and are with us. We have had two officers wounded, one I fear mortally; Ensign Hayter, poor fellow! one foot has been amputated, and a ball is unextracted from his hip. The Sikhs fired on him and several officers of the 37th. Had we not acted so sharply and decisively, there is now little doubt we should have been murdered in our beds, as I am sorry to say numbers have been at the stations all around us. A great number have been murdered by the 6th native infantry at Allahabad, and yet that regiment volunteered to be led against the mutineers at Delhi! They received the thanks of the governor-general, and the next day or two slaughtered every European they could meet with. With the exception of a few killed and wounded, all here are unscathed. Women and children, and inhabitants of cantonments, all safe and unhurt; not a house plundered but one, that of the adjutant of the Sikh regiment; while at Lucknow and Allahabad not a house scarcely is left standing. We struck such terror by the suddenness of our attack, although we were fired upon first, that the mutineers give Benares a wide berth. These mutineers have no object but plunder and murder, where murder may be committed with safety to themselves. They spare neither women nor children. I have omitted to say anything of myself hitherto. From the driving and riding in the sun, and the excessive fatigue I underwent on the 4th inst., I had something very like a *coup de soleil*, and was obliged to make over the command to the next senior officer; but not until everything was quiet. I have been ill ever since, but am now much better, and am looking anxiously for the rains to mitigate this fearful heat (thermometer 93° or 94°), when I hope to gain strength."

On the 5th, the treasure that had been kept at the Mint was removed to the cantonments under an escort of Europeans; the Sikhs, who had been placed in charge of it, remaining faithful to the last, and accompanying it to a place of safety. The mutineers, driven from their lines, had no alternative but flight or submission, and chose the former; some taking the road to Jaunpore; the others to Allahabad, where the 6th regiment of native infantry, recently complimented in general orders for its loyalty, and thanked for its offer to march against the rebels, was stationed. An officer of the 37th regiment, who had a full share in the exciting occurrences of the day, narrates, in the subjoined statement, the chief incidents connected with the insubordination of his men, and the defection of the Sikhs and irregulars. After describing the commencement of the disturbance, and the retreat of the mutineers to their huts, as already stated, he proceeds thus:—

"The movement upon the huts being decided upon, we (officers of the 37th) retired and took our place beside the Sikhs, who, we understood, were to take part in the charge. They form an irregular corps, and have only two officers attached to them—viz., a commandant (Colonel Gordon) and

an adjutant. As both of these were mounted, there was need of our services in the ranks. Here I remained for about ten minutes, in the momentary expectation of the charge being ordered. The brigade-major, Captain Dodgson, then galloped across the parade-ground, and, placing himself at the head of the irregular cavalry, informed them that their commandant, Captain Guise, had been killed, and that he had been sent by Brigadier Ponsonby to supply his place. They flashed their swords in reply, giving vent, at the same time, to a low murmur, which struck me as somewhat equivocal. Captain Dodgson had scarce ceased addressing them, when one of their number fired upon him with a pistol. The bullet only grazed the elbow of his sword arm, just at that point where the ulnar nerve, passing over a process of bone, is so easily irritated as to have gained for that piece of bone the common name of 'funny bone.' The consequence was complete paralysis of the hand and arm; his sword dropped powerless across his saddle, and the rascal who had fired the shot rushed upon him to cut him down; but another of the troop interfered to rescue him, and being well mounted, he succeeded in escaping from the *mêlée*.

"But while all this had been going on, I had had something else to do than watch the conduct of the irregulars. Just as they were flashing their sabres in reply to Captain Dodgson's short address, I was horrified by noticing about a dozen of the Sikhs fire straight forward upon the European soldiers, who were still kneeling and firing into the 37th. The next moment some half-dozen of their muskets were staring me in the face, and a whole tempest of bullets came whizzing into me. Two passed through my forage-cap, and set my hair on fire; three passed through my trowsers, one just grazing my right thigh; but none properly hit me. I rushed headlong at one of the fellows whom I had noticed more especially aiming at me; but had scarcely advanced three paces, when a second volley of bullets saluted me. One of these (and I assure you their name was legion) entered my right shoulder about one-sixth of an inch to the outside of the armpit, and, passing diagonally through the shoulder, came out in my back. This was the 'severe' wound. It brought me to the ground for about fifteen seconds; and, in the course of that short time I had the pleasure of seeing every one of the Sikhs dash across the parade-ground and charge the Europeans. Knowing full well that in a few seconds they would be repulsed by the latter, and sent helter-skelter back towards where I lay, I made what haste I could along the parade-ground towards my bungalow. But the irregular cavalry were scattered about in every direction; and thus the chances of my ever reaching my bungalow seemed to me very slender. But the worst-disposed of the irregulars were engaged in assisting the Sikhs; and those whom I met were fellows who contented themselves with rendering the 'sahibs' no manner of assistance, without personally seeking to molest us. They, therefore, with one exception, rode leisurely past me; although, had any of their number felt inclined to cut me down, I was so entirely helpless and faint from loss of blood, that they might easily have done so. And yet, when one fellow charged towards me with his sword in the air, I was most mercifully preserved. I threw my sword at him with my left arm; but just as the weapon left my hand, I fainted from the pain produced in my wound, and fell quite unconscious. But by that time the Sikhs had been repulsed with great slaughter, and were fleeing across the parade-ground, with a mere handful of Europeans at their heels; my assailant thought it high time, therefore, to make himself scarce, so that, on recovering my consciousness, I found the coast clear, and met with no further opposition in gaining my bungalow. But even then my circumstances were the reverse of enviable; for besides the intense pain which I was suffering, I knew not whether my wouud was mortal or not, and was in momentary expectation of being murdered in cold blood by a party of mutineers. Thus I lay until about two o'clock on Friday morning.

"The Sikhs had no sooner been dispersed than the lines of the 37th were charged, and every sepoy driven out. The soldiers were then fully occupied in going the rounds of the cantonments, and escorting the terrified ladies and civilians to the Mint. During the whole progress of the affray on the parade-ground (a full hour), the cantonments had been at the mercy of bands of armed sepoys. These were assembled from different sources; such as the various guards which had been posted, as usual, throughout the cantonments; the

treasury guard, for instance; the hospital guard, bazaar guard, mess-house guard, and so forth. On the outbreak of the row, these respectable and conscientious fellows set to work (with one or two honourable exceptions) to plunder their several trusts; and that accomplished, dispersed themselves among the various bungalows, as much bent on bloodshed as on booty. Many a hairbreadth escape was made that night, and I could fill whole sheets with a detail of the wonderful Providence to which defenceless women and children owed their lives. The bungalows were, of course, abandoned for such lurking-places as the outhouses could afford; and in several instances these were ransacked by the murderous sepoys. Of course, it would have been quite miraculous had none of us been hurt. But it is truly remarkable, that Colonel Gordon, his adjutant (Lieutenant Glasse), and Captain Dodgson, mounted as they were on huge chargers, were not riddled with the perfect shower of bullets with which they were pursued. The 'casualties' were:—Killed on the spot, Captain Guise; died of his wounds, Ensign Hayter, of the 25th native infantry, but doing duty with the 37th until the arrival of his regiment, *viâ* the river, from Calcutta. Poor fellow, he has been in the country a still shorter time than you and I. It was in consequence of a fever which attacked him shortly after his landing in Calcutta, that he was sent by Gharry dâk to Benares, there to await the arrival of his regiment, which, had it not been for that fever, he would at this moment have been accompanying up the Ganges. To save the pain of a wounded ankle-joint, though without the slightest hope of saving his life, one of his legs was amputated above the knee. He was wounded besides in his abdomen; and this in itself was in all probability a mortal injury. For nearly a week he lingered, sinking gradually, and not very painfully, into his grave.

"Three were wounded—viz., Ensign Chapman, of the 37th, 'very dangerously,' myself 'severely,' and Dodgson 'very slightly.' Poor Chapman was shot through the face, the bullet entering at one cheek and going out at the other. His speech, along with the sight of one eye and the use of one ear, is hopelessly gone. It is with the utmost difficulty and pain that he can swallow even the fluids which constitute his sole sustenance, and hence his limbs are little else than skin and bone. His life, however, is not supposed to be in any immediate danger; and as soon as he can travel, he will be sent home to his parents, round by the Cape. Both he and Hayter were shot by the Sikhs. But all this is a digression; for I was speaking of the civilians. The bolder of them emerged at last from their lurking-places, and made their way to the Mint, a large building, previously agreed upon as the general asylum. On their way, whole volleys were poured in upon them by parties of sepoys; but not even one of their horses or syces were touched. I told you that the sepoys were let loose from different sources upon the cantonments. I have mentioned only one of these sources, viz., the various guards; secondly, a still greater number came straggling into the cantonments from the lines of the 37th; the temptation to plunder the 'sahibs' bungalows being still stronger, in their instances, than the love of 'potting' the sahibs themselves upon the parade-ground. Thus the number of sepoys who continued to fire upon us to the end was not very great, and included only the stanchest and most determined spirits of the corps. At last, as I have said, the Europeans drove them headlong from their lines; and in the course of a few minutes not a sepoy remained in the cantonments, the Sikhs having been driven in one direction, and the 37th in the other.

"A party of soldiers now made the rounds of the cantonments, and escorted to the Mint such of the ladies as were still lurking in their compounds. They who had seen me fired upon felt sure that I must be dead; and, accordingly, while I was suffering the extremity of pain in my bungalow, parties were roaming the parade-ground in search of my remains. At last it occurred to them that I might, after all, have reached my bungalow; and about two o'clock in the morning (as I have already, I think, mentioned) I was conveyed, bed and all, to a camp which had been fortified on the parade-ground, in expectation of a return of the mutineers. But the mode in which these had been dismissed was not such as to invite a speedy return, and we saw no more of them, excepting such as have fallen into our hands and been hung. I lay in this camp for a couple of days in a very sorry plight, having no manner of

shelter either from the burning sun and hot Benares winds, or from the tempests of dust which were drifting about; and yet the surgeons thought this exposure preferable to the risk of fever, &c., which I should have run by going into the crowded hospital. At last, the surgeon in charge of the Mint took pity on me, and housed me in his bungalow, visiting me several times a-day. I would, of course, have gone to my own bungalow; but our surgeons said that unless I remained beside them they could not attend me. We have had an anxious time of it in Benares ever since. People now spend the day in their bungalows; but, with few exceptions (of whom I am one), retire at night to the Mint. This is a very large building, with a flat roof, and no end of battlemented terraces, well calculated to stand a siege. Our Europeans, consisting of the 78th highlanders, the 84th, and 64th, are stationed partly in the church, partly in the camp and small barracks on the parade-ground, but mainly in the Mint compound. We have a full battery of artillery, and will doubtless hold our own. Some few of the Sikhs remained faithful, or seemed to do so. These are employed as outposts and sentries; but very few of them are trusted with firearms. Some of the 37th also stuck to their oath; and these have been sent with Major Barrett to Chunar, a place distant about fifteen miles; the rest of the 37th's officers are quartered not very luxuriously in the camp. On recovering from my wound I mean to volunteer to go up the country with any of the Queen's regiments that may then be passing through Benares, which has become quite a depôt. I have made a most wonderfully rapid recovery, partly owing to the closeness of the person who shot me, so that the bullet went slick through, carrying out with it every fibre of cloth, and bruising the tissues less than if it had come from a greater distance—just as a sharp weapon makes a more favourable wound than a blunt one."

The Rev. James Kennedy, a clergyman of the establishment, stationed at Benares, has forwarded the following graphic detail of the proceedings between the 3rd and 11th of June:—

"During the 4th, news arrived that a native infantry regiment at Azimgurh, some sixty miles from this, had mutinied, and seized some £170,000 of treasure. The news somehow reached the sepoys as soon as it did the authorities, and greatly excited them. The new brigadier resolved to disarm the 37th at once. A parade was hastily ordered. The bells of arms, as they are called—the little houses in which the arms are kept—were suddenly locked. No sooner did the sepoys see this, and also that the European soldiers were under arms, than they rushed to the bells of arms, burst open the doors, and seized their weapons. Besides this regiment there was here a Sikh regiment, which was much trusted, and likewise an irregular cavalry regiment, so well thought of, that at the beginning of these troubles it was called in from Sultanpore, twelve miles distant, to defend us. Many spoke highly of the loyalty of these regiments, and, among others, their own officers; but others doubted them, and the doubters have turned out correct. All the troops were near at the time. No sooner did the 37th seize their arms than the Sikhs fired at their own officers, who had been speaking in such high terms of them. Before the engagement was well begun, the commander of the irregular cavalry fell. Captain Dodgson, the brigade-major, rode up to the cavalry, and called out, 'Your commander is dead; follow me.' Immediately one of these troopers fired on him, and the ball grazed his arm. Another trooper—a loyal one—immediately turned on the rebel and cut him down, thus saving Captain Dodgson's life, as the rebel was rushing on him with his sword; and Captain Dodgson was for the moment disabled. It was evident, that while the 37th was thoroughly mutinous, there were loyal men among the Sikhs and the cavalry; but in the strife it was impossible to distinguish them, as they were mingled together. The rebel fire was, of course, returned by the European soldiers, and then the guns opened, mowing down numbers of the mutineers. The Europeans were a mere handful compared with the native force arrayed against them, but they had the advantage of having three guns, while the others had only muskets. In such circumstances the mutineers could rush at once on the guns and capture them; but this is not the native fashion. On the opening of the guns, all the rebels ran for shelter behind trees and huts, from which they tried to keep up the contest; but soon their only concern was to get entirely beyond the reach of the feared and hated white soldiers. The heavy firing continued for nearly two hours, but skir-

mishing continued for several hours longer. How many of the mutineers perished it is impossible to say, but it is certain that many have fallen. On our side there were four killed and twenty-one wounded, of whom several are sure to die. There were only 200 Europeans altogether; while the number against them, including the mutinous cavalry, was about 2,000. As the rebels first fired (and they were near), if they had taken deliberate aim, scarcely one of the Europeans would have escaped. How the residents all escaped is a matter of wonder to many, and ought certainly to be a matter of heartfelt thanksgiving. These men, maddened by defeat and thirsting for blood, as they retreated, streamed through many of the compounds in cantonments, and fired as they passed, but happily fired so much at random, that no person was hurt. Several of the English took refuge in stables and outhouses. Others, like the commissioner and his family, who were exposed to the most imminent peril, got to the roof of their houses, and hid themselves behind the parapets. My house is out of cantonment, and therefore, in the first place, we were less exposed than others. We had just finished dinner, about 5 P.M., when our watchman rushed into the house and exclaimed, 'Flee, sahib! flee, the regiments have mutinied!' How he had known so soon I do not know; for by that time a shot had not been fired. I suppose he had heard of the soldiers gathering, thought there was to be mischief, and ran to tell us. He had just spoken when we heard the sharp rattle of the musketry, and then the boom of the cannon. We thought it was full time for us to move with our four children. The gharry was ordered; and according to a plan formerly arranged, in the event of a disturbance, we hastened as fast as our horse could take us to the house of a Mr. Gordon, on the banks of the Ganges, close to its principal ferry at Benares. As that is a great thoroughfare, and it was possible enough a party of mutineers might come that way, it was deemed prudent to engage boats and ferry ourselves out into the middle of the river till news should reach us. Consequently, the Buyerses, Ballantynes, ourselves, and some others got out on the river, and awaited tidings with intense anxiety. By this time the heavy firing had ceased, and the rattle of the musketry was so irregular, that it was evident the battle was well nigh over; but on what side the victory was we did not know. The whole city was covered with smoke, which led us to fear there was an immense conflagration; but it turned out there had been only a part of cantonments on fire. At length we heard the authorities were victorious. We returned to Mr. Gordon's house, intending to remain there for the night, when Captain Dodgson, notwithstanding his wound, accompanied by several others, galloped into the compound, and told us that, although the mutineers were routed, they were about in great numbers, and that it was absolutely necessary for safety to proceed to a large building called the Mint, in the middle of cantonments, which was put into a state of defence. Most providentially, at that very time, a party of English soldiers, seventy in number, were reported as having arrived at the *ghat* (ferry); and so, escorted by them and a small portion of the irregular cavalry, who had remained faithful, we proceeded to the Mint, where we arrived at midnight. What a scene of confusion and tumult was there! All in front bands of English soldiers, ready to act at a moment's notice; men, women, and children, high and low, huddled together, wondering at meeting together at such a time and at such a place, not knowing where they were to throw themselves down for the night, and altogether looking quite bewildered. As to sleep, that was out of the question. I felt drowsy for a few minutes between three and four, when I heard one say to another, 'The magistrate has just been sent for. The city is rising.' In answer to the demand for aid, all the information given to the native magistrate in the city was, 'Do your best; we cannot spare a man.' Rioting did break out in the city, but it was suppressed; and the city has since remained astonishingly quiet.

"The 5th (Friday) was, as you may suppose, a day of intense excitement. No person ventured beyond the compound of the Mint, except he were heavily armed or strongly escorted. It was believed that the mutineers were near in numbers, and might venture again on the combat. Our strength was divided between three places—the treasury, a full half-mile distant; the barracks, in another direction nearly a quarter of a mile; and the Mint, the most central place of the three. The treasure, however, was removed to the barracks under a strong escort, without a blow being struck;

showing that our enemies are, for the moment, cowed. A strange thing happened in reference to this treasure on the evening of the 4th. While the battle was raging, the treasure was defended by about seventy Sikhs. Their regiment was in open mutiny, and yet these remained firm. They fired on mutineers who approached them, and delivered up the treasure safe (about £60,000), of which £1,000 was immediately made over to them as a present. These men are still with us; but after the extraordinary things which have happened, so unexpected by all, even they are so little trusted, that they are sent to do duty where their unfaithfulness would do little harm.

"The whole of the 5th was spent by us in the greatest confusion and discomfort imaginable. We had been complaining of the heat in our houses, and, we thought, with reason; but after our experience of the Mint heat we have had a longing for our homes. The Mint had a most warlike appearance. The place was bristling with arms. All round the rooms there were rifles, swords, and other weapons. Some of the most peaceable men here, who had never been seen before, I suppose, with a weapon in their hands or at their side, went about with pistols in their belts, and swords almost trailing the ground. At night I ventured to go from the Mint to the barracks, with two friends, one of whom had a revolver and another a rifle. My principal object in going was to see a young man, a son of Dr. Tweedie, of Edinburgh, who had been wounded in the engagement of the preceding day. I found him in a wretched place, but not so ill as I had been led to expect. He had an extraordinary escape. Three balls passed through his cap, and one through his trowsers, without touching him. One ball went through his shoulder, and yet there is every prospect of a speedy cure, as no bone has been broken and no great artery cut. The doctor attending him says that if the ball had deviated in the slightest degree from the course it took, or had been propelled with less force, it must have been fatal. I shall never forget the scene at the hospital that night. The men lying on little bedsteads, near enough just to allow a person to pass between them, with the most frightful wounds, some evidently suffering excruciating pain, and others nearly insensible, was a sickening sight. Then, again, all over the plain were bands of soldiers, looking at the bodies of the slain, of which many had till that time remained unremoved. The question now was, how we were to manage for the night. Some had slight native bedsteads, and more had only shake-downs. A number slept in the awfully heated room, and others betook themselves to the roof of the building in the open air. The latter was our choice. None, of course, took off their day clothing, for we were to sleep in public, as we had been living in public. Rank was for a time obliged to demean itself humbly. Our commissioner slept with his family in a room on shake-downs, with other families sleeping all around them, and there from night to night they continued to sleep. We got on tolerably well till the middle of the night, when a dust-storm came on. A number then went in, but the heat was so suffocating inside that we remained out till the morning, and then with the dust we looked like chimney-sweeps.

"On the 6th (Saturday) we were beginning to feel a little assured, and so we ventured to Dr. Butter's house, opposite the Mint, where we spent the day, and, oh! it was a little heaven after the crowding and the confusion of the previous day. At Dr. Butter's we remained till the evening, when we returned to the Mint, and took our place on the top for the night. It was a beautiful night, with the moon shining brightly, and a little wind breathing, which, though not over cool, fanned us somewhat. We slept, on the whole, well. We had one alarm in the course of the night. Some of the outside pickets had seen several suspicious characters armed, so far as they could see them in the distance; and on this being reported our men got under arms. Nothing, however, occurred, and happily, few knew that any alarm had been given.

"On Sabbath, the 7th, there was service at the barracks, conducted by a church missionary, the only one who has remained here, the others having fled to the fort of Chunar. In the evening I preached at the Mint. Sabbath evening was again spent on the top of the Mint. I am now writing on Wednesday, the 10th. We have been spending the entire day at Dr. Butter's, and sleeping at the Mint at night, till last night, when, according to Dr. Butter's advice, we slept here. Yesterday morning I went to our house for a short time; this morning my wife and children went with me, and we go to-morrow for the entire day; but as our house is a considerable distance beyond

the stations of the European pickets, some of our friends strongly advise us against the measure. In the immediate neighbourhood of the city all continues so very quiet that I do not myself anticipate the smallest danger. The news from the out-stations is, however, very distressing. Azimgurh, Juanpore, and Goruckpore are in the hands of the rebels. Several of the officials have been killed, and others have been too happy to be able to flee with their families. The night before last word was brought in that two officials—one a military man and another a civilian—had been killed at Juanpore; that the rest of the few European inhabitants had fled, and were in hiding some twenty miles distant. Immediately a party was formed for their rescue, and the whole were brought in last night in a pitiable state. They had nothing but the clothes on their backs. Their houses had been first plundered and then burnt; they themselves had a wonderful escape; they lay down on the floor of the court-house, with the balls whistling over their heads, and they succeeded in getting away at last, simply because the mutineers were so busy with the treasure they had seized that they had not time to attend to them. Among the fugitives were our very worthy friends Mr. and Mrs. Reuther, of the Church Mission, with their family. Their children are now arrayed in the garments of ours. The whole party had been five days concealed by a native and fed by him, though, of course, not with dainty fare. He declared he would rather give up his life than betray them. In large districts around us government is for a season suspended, and there is, of course, a threatening of frightful anarchy. The rising has been entirely a military one; but where it has had temporary success the gaols have been opened, the villains in them have been let loose on society, officials have been either killed or scattered—no acknowledged authority has remained; and you may well suppose what would be the result of such a state of things in our own land in any of its crowded districts, notwithstanding our boasted superiority to others. The people generally are certainly not against us, at least in this part of India, and I believe the majority are at present trembling lest our days here be numbered, as they anticipate nothing but misery if we go.

"Thursday, June 11th.—We have to-day ventured to our home, and here we are in peace and, I believe, in safety. We are so thankful and happy to be in our own house again; but we must not remain here. For some time to come we expect to be required to sleep within the line of the English pickets. This day week we were obliged to make our hasty flight. What a memorable week it has been! We thought ourselves as safe here as we could be in our native land, and as suddenly find ourselves exposed to the greatest danger. A white face was before a positive advantage; since this outbreak has commenced it has been a mark for the assassin. The sepoys were our sworn and paid defenders; whoever might fail us, it was thought they would stand by us to the last; and the result of this confidence reposed in them is, that they have nearly overthrown British rule in Northern India. They have been all along mercenaries, but it was thought they were inseparably bound to us by the ties of interest. Now they look as if maddened against us. The landholders, merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, and, indeed, all the well-doing classes, are to a man against the movement. What the result may be is known only to God."

Another writer, dating from Benares, June 9th, says—"The clouds which just showed on the horizon have gathered around us, and one has burst over our heads; but I must not anticipate. Let me go back and relate each day's events as they occurred to me. Tuesday, the 2nd, passed quietly over, B—— and his friend C—— staying at my bungalow; but on Wednesday a rumour came that 500 disbanded sepoys were on our side of the river, opposite Benares, on their way up, and were burning and plundering as they came; so we called a council of war, and resolved that there was no example in history of three men resisting 500 with any success to speak of, especially in a thatched bungalow, so we sent two sharp fellows to spy out the enemy, and packed up the office-papers and drawings, and sent them to the fort, then dined, made ourselves happy with a pipe, and rode on heavily armed. Thursday morning, after a quiet night at the Padre's, my men came in with news that the 500 men were a myth—only think; however, as we were in, and all the office-papers locked up, I resolved to make a holiday, and stay in the station. Mr. C. was in a hurry to get to Benares, so we sent him off in an *ekka* (a horrid native pony carriage); but just as we were sitting down to dinner, about 8 P.M., he came back again

with a scared face, and told us he had met two men in a buggy, who had left Benares at 5 P.M. in full fight—grapeshot, officers killed, &c.; slightly confused, and rather awful. This time the intelligence was pronounced trustworthy, and we felt our work was going to begin. We sent notes to the officers, and held a council as to whether we should disarm the eighty or ninety sepoys in Chunar Fort. The Padre and all the unmilitary men said, 'Certainly, disarm them;' but the officers said, 'No, we will not show them that we mistrust them.' These words which I have quoted have been the death-sentence of hundreds of the bravest Indian officers. In station after station the same feeling has prevailed of conciliating the blackguards by appearing to trust them, and the appearing has gone on till they fire at their officers without warning. You may be sure we made every use of these arguments, but in vain; so we prepared for a stormy night. In the meantime, as I thought my Benares friends might fly this way, I sent out a horse to meet them half-way. We kept watch and watch, and the evening and the morning made it Friday, when I started at 4 A.M. to Benares to see what it was all about. Three miles down the road is Sultanpore, the head-quarters of the 13th irregular cavalry; only fifty men and a jemadar were there, and they turned out as I came along, and told me to give their salaam to the brigadier, and say they were then ready to obey orders, and did not know exactly what to do. I promised to take their message, but said if they wanted immediate instruction they had better turn out a dozen men and come down with me. You see, an escort of cavalry would rather have suited me just then; but they did not seem to like it, and said they had sent a picket on, whom I might catch if I chose to ride for it. So on I went, found my second horse all right, and caught the picket about five miles from Benares, and joined company with them. As we went we asked everybody for news: as we got towards the place we met another cavalry man coming from Benares, and, after some private talk with him, my picket tried to shirk me; and, finding they could not easily do so, one of them came to me and said they had orders to join the regiment privately, and therefore must leave me. I did not like it at all; but there was no help for it, so I rode on alone. However, I got in safe, and saw some soldiers and English officers before me, and galloped up to them as fast as I could. From them I learnt the particulars of the fight, and that the English were all assembled at the old Mint, a large building capable of standing a very fair siege. And now wait a little till I sing my song concerning the battle of Benares, which was fought on Thursday, the 4th of June, 1857. Imagine a square, the north side formed by the huts of the 37th native infantry; west, Sikh regiments; south, the irregular cavalry; east, 300 English and three guns, the hope and last resource of Benares. Enter English officer; rides up to the 37th's lines, and orders out the troops; they come out, and form line in front of their huts; then each officer explains to his company that they are to disarm for the present till less stormy days. One officer (G——, my informant) actually shook hands with the chief men of his company, and then ordered them to step forward and lay down their muskets. Their answer came in the shape of eighty musket-balls all round him; but not one hit him, nor were any of the other officers killed in this first discharge. The men then fell back into their huts, and commenced loading and firing under cover of them at the English. Major Guise, of the irregulars, rode in among the huts, and was killed almost immediately. The English guns took up a raking position, and peppered the huts with grape at 250 yards. One of our officers came forward with a few men, and fired the roofs, so the sepoys got rather astonished. Meantime the Sikhs left the east side of the square, and formed a line parallel to and between the sepoys and cavalry, and facing the former. The cavalry said they wanted an English officer to lead them, and Dodgson of the 37th, who had just escaped the first fire of his own corps, came forward, and was immediately received with one or two rifle-balls from the cavalry. Upon this the Sikhs faced round and fired a volley, but whether intended for the officers or the cavalry is not told. Certain it is, they shot down three of the former and none of the latter. When the other officers found themselves thus between two fires, they galloped out and joined the Europeans, and made them turn their guns on Sikhs and cavalry alike, until these two gallant regiments found out their mistake, and once more turned their fire on the 37th. Was not this a nice battle? The sum total was, that the 37th were

utterly smashed, and the Sikhs and cavalry frightened out of their wits, and made sensible that they were mistaken. Many of the officers are furious, and say we have been shedding innocent blood, and the whole thing was a blunder. But the cavalry fired at a party of ladies who were going in their carriages to the Mint, and would certainly have murdered them if they had not been beaten off by a small force of Europeans. So much for the battle. I found everybody at the Mint, which several had only reached after many adventures, and we bivouacked in the large rooms, and slept on the roof—ladies, children, ayas, and punkah coolies; officers lying down dressed, and their wives sitting up by them fanning them; gentlemen in the most fearless *dishabille*, sleeping surrounded by ladies. In the compound or enclosure below there is a little handful of Europeans —perhaps 150 altogether; others are at the barracks half a mile off. There is a large collection of carriages and horses; little bedsteads all over the place; and two circular quick-hedges, with flower-gardens inside, are falling victims to the sheep and goats which have been brought in to provision the place; add to this a heap of more beer boxes than your English imagination can take in, and throw over all the strong black and white of a full moonlight, and you have the Mint as it looked when the English of Benares had sought refuge in it. There was a picknicky, gypsified look about the whole affair, which prevented one realising that the small congregation were there making a stand for a huge empire, and that their lives were upon the toss-up of the next events. On Saturday, Sunday, and Monday our fears diminished progressively, and we ventured out more and more. Yesterday morning news came that Allahabad had mutinied, and all who were not in the fort were murdered, including ten officers. Oh for my friends in Allahabad! Mirzapore is said to be fighting; and oh for my friends in Mirzapore! This is my cry, and this is the cry which is going up all over India, and will be echoed at home in half the families in England; but, instead of friends, the word will be, my son, or my brother, or my husband, and, worse still, my sister or my wife! But do not think that people as a rule are showing sad faces. The English here are so essentially people of action, that they are kept cheerful by it; and you see among them no grimace, no affectation of sorrow. It is a time like this you should take to judge of the Indian English, and then you may be proud of them."

The following is addressed from Benares, June 13th: the statements of such eye-witnesses require no comment to give them effect:—

"We have been expecting the outbreak here for the past three weeks. It came on the 4th. We got an express from Azimgurh to say that the 17th native infantry had mutinied and plundered the treasury, killing every European; but this was subsequently modified. On hearing this I knew our time was up, but as I hoped to have twelve hours' start before the information got out, I went and engaged two gharries, one for Harriet and the other for Mrs. Captain Dodgson, to send them off at once.

"While these gharries were coming, I went off to the judge to explain why I sent Harriet away, to guard against future remarks, and to offer myself for any service that might be needed for work so near at hand. I then went to the commissioner, to offer a seat in the gharry to any female member of his family. It was accepted for a sister-in-law. After dispatching the ladies, I was to go and reside with Tucker and his family. I had hardly returned home ten minutes, when bang, bang went the cannon—knew all was up. Saw crowds running for the life. Had my buggy at the door; bundled Harriet and our little boy, two guns, a revolver, and a pistol and sword into it, and drove to Mr. Tucker's, the commissioner's. He had never fired a shot in his life, and had not a weapon of any kind in the house, which I knew; but as his house was a *pukka* one (built of brick, with a stone roof), and capable of defence, I drove there instead of to the Mint, which was the rendezvous. In the house there were Mr. Tucker, Miss Tucker, four little children, and a sister-in-law of Mr. Tucker, with my guns only. Got them to the terrace of the house, and covered them up with straw, and made every preparation we could. In came Captain Watson with two ladies, but without any weapon. All this time the cannon were banging away and a rattle of musketry going on, and the whole of the sepoy lines were on fire. The rascally sepoys were flying in squads past the house, with terror depicted in their faces, and very many of them had thrown away their muskets, ac-

coutrements, &c., and were cutting like fun. Seeing this, and fearing that they might make an attempt at the house after the firing had ceased, I determined to go to the bridge near my house and try and make a stand there, so as to stop the sepoys flying any more to our side. Got upon Mr. Tucker's horse and galloped off, followed by Mr. Tucker, having left Captain Watson in charge of the ladies with my battery of guns. Immediately we came to the bridge, the sepoys, instead of coming our way, made a rush down the sides of the bridge leading to the banks of the Burna. There were at the time fifty sowars of the 13th irregulars stationed opposite my gate. We begged of twenty-five of them to follow to cut off these vagabonds; but not a man would stir, on the plea that it was the collector's *hookum* (order) not to budge from the treasury, which was held by a hundred Sikhs. The array, however, helped us to frighten the sepoys. The runaways decreasing in number, I swept over the bridge to find out how things were going on at the Mint, where Mrs. Dodgson was, and who had been placed under my care. Mr. Tucker led this time. 'Ping' went a bullet at him, but missed. I had three shots with my revolver on the bridge; but just as I came to the narrow part, just three or four yards before me, I saw one of these rascally runaways ramming home a cartridge. Bang went the musket at me; but 'twas a bad shot, for instead of hitting me he slightly wounded the horse. Away we flew; but midway we came upon fifty sowars of the irregulars. One fellow came with a pistol cocked at me, and said that they had no officer and no commands, and what were they to do? I asked them (twenty) to follow me; but the fellows hesitated, and Mr. Tucker advised me not to trust myself to them. We left them and went to the Mint, and met fifty European soldiers, and sent them off to protect the other ladies. We had hardly been gone fifteen minutes when these fifty sowars bolted, after firing a volley into the Europeans we had just left. Galloped back as fast as we could to our dear ones. The firing had by this time ceased, and thinking the worst was over I put off my sword, &c., and ordered dinner. Hardly a dish had reached the table when bang, bang went the guns again—this time at the Sikhs, who had joined the 37th. The same scene of flying sepoys; for you must know we had two 4-pounders pounding the rascals with grape, which they could not stand. Shortly after, in came Colonel Gordon with thirty European soldiers, and carried us off to the Mint. It was a fearful time, and enough to sober one for life; such a scene met us at the Mint, which was choked with refugees. Every one had some one to inquire for; but no one could say where any one was. It was a long and anxious night. With dawn more courage was plucked up. The panic among the mutineers, however, had been so great that not a man could be heard of, and even the thieves and budmashes had made off; for, notwithstanding every bungalow had been left to take care of itself, not a pin had been stolen, or even a thatch burnt. Every refugee was busy removing valuables, and all got something. Our treasury was safe. The treasure was removed by twelve o'clock at noon to the artillery barracks; but not a man budged out for the next twenty-four hours; yet the fear of peril had been so wholesome that all our property remained untouched. On Saturday, seeing all quiet, we determined to spend the day at home, but all of us returned to the Mint at night. How long these things are to last God knows. I see no chance of any amendment; but must hold on till more European soldiers come in, and the weather less hot—100 degrees in-doors.

"We had long known that the 37th were mutinous, but were waiting for more soldiers to disarm them. The mutiny at Azimgurh, however, precipitated matters. On the news reaching us, a parade was ordered for the evening. The hour came; the fellows smelt a rat. Instead of obeying orders, they began popping at the soldiers (viz., the 37th native infantry did.) The Britishers went at them. The blackies retreated into their lines, and from that shelter kept up firing. The 4-pounders were then brought to play, and graped them. The lines were then set fire to to drive them out, which was done. All this time the Sikhs stood spectators, drawn up in open parade. They then wavered, first attempting to murder their commandant, Colonel Gordon, who was saved by one of his own men receiving the ball in his arm; he was immediately removed to the Mint. The Sikhs then sent a volley at the gunners, who wheeled their guns round and hammered them with grape; they were mowed down like rotten carrots, and bolted

like the 37th. Meanwhile Captain Guise, in command of the 13th irregulars, called upon his troopers to charge, and went off at a gallop. Not a man stirred. Captain Guise was shot by the 37th, and it is said had his head split open afterwards by some of his own troopers. Two other officers of the 37th, youngsters of only sixteen and eighteen, were desperately wounded; one given up since. A third was wounded severely. Ten or twelve rank and file were killed and wounded, of whom we have buried three.

"It was a providential thing that we took the initiative, for otherwise they would have risen at night, as afterwards discovered, and perhaps very few of us would have been alive to tell the tale. God has indeed been gracious to us, and by visible signs shown His presence and protection to us. It is said the whole thing was precipitated; but if so, it only shows that it was not man's judgment or foresight which saved us."

An officer, who appears to have had greater faith in the loyalty of the 37th regiment than was compatible with prudence or safety, after describing the arrangements of Lieutenant-colonel Neill on the evening of the 4th, says—"It is not wonderful that such deadly preparations should have filled the sepoys with alarm and disaffection, even supposing them to have remained up to that moment true to their colours. Although, no doubt, in the 37th there were many disaffected spirits, yet I believe that the regiment as a whole was sound, and that the disarming might have been effected in perfect peace and quietness, had it been gone about in a less abrupt and threatening manner. But Providence often turns our mistakes still more signally than our wisest measures to our advantage, and so it was on the 4th of June; for there can be no doubt that our safety depended on the dispersion and panic of these rascally sepoys; and even if some 'good men and true' were involved in the fate of their fellows, the sacrifice was an inevitable one in an emergency like the present. Therefore, I say, although the sepoys might have been quietly disbanded, the mistake that provoked a row was a most fortunate one. Well, then, on seeing themselves hemmed in with musketry and artillery, the sepoys (many of them, no doubt, with a guilty conscience) naturally suspected that they were to be blown to pieces, and all the assurances of their officers proved ineffectual to keep them composed. They were ordered to put their muskets into the little stone buildings called *kotes*, or bells of arms. The majority of their number obeyed at once, and European soldiers were then marched towards the bells of arms with the view of securing them from any attempt which the sepoys might make to recover them. But the sepoys were beforehand with them, and making a sudden rush at the bells of arms, recovered their muskets and fired at once upon their own officers and upon the advancing Europeans, retiring at the same time within their lines, and thence keeping up a brisk fire upon the Europeans."

Another writer, describing the foregoing events in a letter from Bangalore, says—"I told you how gallantly our Madras fusiliers, from Y——'s regiment have behaved; 100 of them, under Colonel Neill, killed 650 mutineers. I saw a letter from one of the officers yesterday. He says, that no imagination can depict the scenes he witnessed when he arrived at Benares. All the troops were in a state of revolt. They saved Benares. The whole of the Bengal officers were paralysed with terror and astonishment; so Colonel Neill assumed command, and proceeded to the most summary measures, cutting off whole regiments. All the ladies were crowded into one room, with wounded and dying men, and from the window the sight that greeted our eyes was a row of gallowses, on which the energetic colonel was hanging mutineer after mutineer, as they were brought in."

A corporal of her majesty's 10th regiment gave the following interesting details of the mutiny, in a letter to some friends in England. Dating from Benares, June 24th, he says—"A detachment of my regiment, consisting of 150 men, under the command of my captain, was sent up to Benares. We left Dinapore on the 22nd of May, by steam, and arrived on the 31st. Everything remained quiet until the afternoon of the 4th of June, when word was brought that the sepoys were going to give us a clipping that night. We were ordered to load; and, shortly after, we fell in on the parade-ground with the artillery and thirty men of the 1st fusiliers, who were the covering party for the guns. We marched down the 37th native infantry lines. The moment they got us about fifty yards to their lines, they opened fire on us, killing

four of my company and wounding ten: but they suffered for it; for never did a body of men in the British army fire so quick and with such precision: we were well applauded by every officer on the ground. The Sikh regiment turned on the artillery; but you never saw such a sight in your life; they were mowed down, and got several rounds of grapeshot into them when out of our range. Well, the next job was the cavalry; but they killed their officer, Major Guise, before we got any chance of touching them, which we did in gallant style. I'll just tell you the number of European fighting-men on that evening—merely 200, fighting against 1,300 sepoys; and that accounts for their showing such courage in murdering women and children. But I am happy to tell you no European was injured in Benares, except the men who were engaged. We went round the station, and fetched in all the ladies and children. The only murder committed—which I was nearly forgetting—was our apothecary, Jackson; who was coming down from the hospital with a box of implements for the doctor, when he was knocked over by a dozen bullets. The affair with the sepoys lasted from half-past four to half-past seven o'clock P.M.; but we got no rest that night. I was nearly catching it myself after escaping on the plain. I went on to the main guard belonging to the 37th native infantry. We brought out all the killed and wounded sepoys of the guard, and threw them on the plain. We thought everything was quiet in the guard-room; but one of my sentries cried out, that there was a sepoy under one of the cots. I went to where the cot was, turned it over, and saw a 37th sepoy lying there. I asked him who he was, in his own language; 'Toom Koon, hi sepoy,' says he. I then says, 'Koonpultan, what regiment?' and he said, 'Burrel, ka pultan,' at the same time cocking his piece; but I was not to be got easy, so I gave the contents of my piece to him, and he died almost instantly, heaping curses on the Gorah soldiers in the country. Well, the next affair we had was on July 6th, with a body of the mutineers encamped about five miles from our intrenchments. You must know that Benares is a holy city, one that never was besieged. We were the first who ever fired a shot in Benares in anger. Well, a body of us went out with two guns, and gave them another beating. We set fire to the village, and took forty prisoners, whom we tied together, and a company was ordered up to them, who shot and bayoneted every one of them. We came off without any loss. This disturbance will cause us to remain a few years longer out. The duty is very hard; the men get two nights in bed; but the non-commissioned officer don't get one. You come off day guard, and you are named for night guard. With sixty rounds on your back and a loaded musket, in the hot season, is not very pleasant, I can assure you."

The lifelike tone of the following descriptive sketch of the circumstances connected with the mutiny at Benares, will atone for the length of the communication, which is from an officer whose arrival in India had immediately preceded the occurrences mentioned, although he had not reached Benares until the 22nd of the month. The letter is dated from the Mint, Benares, June 26th, and runs thus:—"I arrived here after a very pleasant journey of 350 miles in carts without springs, drawn by bullocks; and when these animals could not be got, then by natives, of whom there usually were eleven or twelve to each cart. We travel during the night (to avoid the heat of the day), starting at about five or six o'clock in the evening, and halting at seven or eight in the morning, resting during the heat of the day in the bungalows. These are halting-places built by the government for the use of travellers; and in each are kept two or three servants to cook our victuals, consisting for the most part of chickens and bad bread. We generally accomplished from twenty-five to thirty miles a-night. We were twelve days in performing the journey from Calcutta to Benares. We were quartered in the church here till last night, when we removed to the Mint. Troops are coming into this city so fast, that they are obliged to make use of every building in the place. I expect the detachment I am with will be sent off either to-night or to-morrow night. We are all moving up to Allahabad, about seventy or eighty miles from here. There a column is to form, which will be joined by the forces coming down from Delhi; and then it is supposed all will proceed to Lucknow, and scour the whole province of Oude. I should think, that before long there will not be such a thing as a sepoy left. We are getting the upper hand of them.

"I dare say, that by the time you get this letter, you will have read accounts of some of the atrocities and enormities committed by the mutineers; but you may rest assured that you have not heard of the worst, by a long, long way. A description of the outrages will never appear in print. They are of too harrowing and barbarous a character for that. They have not appeared in the papers here. The female portion of their victims have been treated in a more horribly brutal way than has ever been seen or heard of. You may some day hear a recital of some of the worst of the outrages perpetrated on our poor countrywomen, but you will never see them in print.

"From the last station before reaching Benares we brought fifteen of the villains. They had been captured by the native police of the station. I arrived there just in time to see them examined. They had each got from 200 to 400 rupees' worth of gold and silver ornaments, such as nose rings, ear ornaments, armlets, and anklets; as well as forty-one rupees each in money. The nose rings are made of the purest gold, and about three or four inches in diameter, and set with diamonds and other precious stones. These are worn by the women through the septum of the nose, and hang over the mouth. These and the ear ornaments had evidently been torn out of the flesh of their victims. One of them had seven pairs of gold armlets, worth about fifty or sixty rupees a pair. The chief evidence against them was their possession of a cap ornament belonging to the 11th native infantry, the first regiment that mutinied; and then a quantity of women's and children's clothing, saturated with blood.

"The night after my arrival here we had a little diversion in the shape of a turn-out. As our major, a lieutenant, and myself were sitting enjoying our cigars over a cup of coffee after dinner, about nine in the evening, a corporal came in hastily, and told us we were to get under arms and go down to the bridge immediately. Within ten minutes we were marching down to the spot. This was sharp work, considering that nearly all the men were asleep when the order came. The 78th were also ordered out, and we were at the bridge twenty minutes before they got there; and the artillery with the two guns were half-an-hour after us. There were from 500 to 600 men out that night. We were all loaded, and the artillery had their portfires burning ready for work. After standing there about an hour, the officer in command thought the men might as well lie down till they saw some sign or heard some sound of danger. The men grounded their arms, and lay down beside them. We did the same. We all lay there till about three o'clock in the morning, having been amused during the night, first by a storm of dust, and then a shower of rain. The cause of our being called out so suddenly, was a report that reached us, that 2,500 of the revolted sepoys were marching upon Benares, and were within five miles of it; and as the bridge was the only way by which they could get to the cantonments, that was the reason of our being posted there. As the road from the bridge is quite straight for a considerable distance, our guns would have given the rascals a most delightful peppering. But they did not show themselves, and I think acted wisely. They know better than to attack us fairly. The only chance we shall have of touching them will be by marching right upon them. All the ladies and gentlemen (English) of Benares come to sleep in the Mint at night, and go home again in the morning.

"Benares is a very large city. It has a great number of very fine temples, several of which got shattered during the tumult. According to the ideas of some races, this city is the most sacred in India. The natives come hundreds of miles merely to bathe in the Ganges here. The scenery in coming up from Calcutta, particularly after the first 120 miles, is most magnificent. The jungles are of immense extent, and the roads, in some parts, abound with tigers, leopards, and deer of every kind. It is now dreadfully hot. The rains which, according to observation, ought to have begun to fall on the 10th inst., have not yet visited the soil. Many apprehend a famine; for till the rains come the seed cannot be got into the ground. But the most disagreeable of all things to bear are the hot winds. There is no getting rid of them, except by keeping in the house, and shutting all the doors and windows as close as possible. We are obliged to keep the punkah going night and day, and use kuskus tatties. These are made of the kusks, a scented grass, made to fit the doors, and kept constantly wet by three or four natives throwing water on them. From the excessive heat, we all get what is called the

'prickly heat,' the skin being covered all over the body with little pimples, and these in time run on to boils. I am now almost unable either to sit or lie from this cause. I was obliged to leave nearly all my things in Calcutta. The only articles of uniform I brought with me were a shell-jacket, foraging-cap, and sword; and the sword my servant managed to drop into the Hooghly at starting. I carry a Colt about with me instead. Revolvers, while there were any in Calcutta, sold for £14, £16, and £18 a-piece. At present there is not a firearm of any kind, pay what you will for it. They have all been bought up long ago. I have got a tulwar from one of the rascals we brought from Nowbutpore. I should like to send it you home; but there is no chance of doing so at present, for all the luggage-carts are being used for carrying troops, and not a single parcel can be sent either way."

The Rev. Mr. Kennedy, to whose graphic pen the history of the mutiny in India is much indebted for many valuable and interesting reminiscences of the period, says, in a letter from Benares, of the 29th of June—"We have had many ups and downs since I wrote last;* but, thanks to the Divine goodness, we are still in safety; and though it is well nigh impossible to have a feeling of security, we think our position is daily improving. The country in the immediate neighbourhood is settling down into quietness. For several days, so far as we know, there has been no plundering or murdering within several miles of our city. For this comparative impunity, when the greater part of the country is in a blaze, we are indebted under God to several things. 1. We have no native soldiers worth naming to keep us in dread; while we have a very considerable body of European troops, to whom daily additions are made. Not a day passes without several arriving. They are being constantly posted on, and yet we have from 600 to 700 always here, with six large guns. The dread of the European soldiers has fallen remarkably on the people since the engagement on June 4th. They think them demons in human form; and to this opinion our safety is in a degree traceable. 2. We have an officer of great vigour in command of the station, in whom all have confidence. 3. Our judge is a man greatly feared by the people; and during this crisis he has done most excellent service. For daring vigour he has few equals; his name is a proverb for swift, stern justice. There are, of course, thousands in this city set on mischief; and the dread of this one man has done more to keep them quiet than anything else. The result is, that the city, notwithstanding its well-known turbulence in even peaceful times, remains astonishingly quiet. Many of the people are petrified with fear of our soldiers being let loose on them. Our head magistrate, also, is well spoken of by the community. 4. The gibbet is, I must acknowledge, a standing institution among us at present. There it stands, immediately in front of the flagstaff, with three ropes always attached to it, so that three may be executed at one time. Two additional gibbets were erected, with three ropes to each; but they have been taken down. Scarcely a day passes without some poor wretches being hurled into eternity. It is horrible, very horrible! To think of it is enough to make one's blood run cold; but such is the state of things here, that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the vigour with which the miscreants are dealt with. The swiftness with which crime is followed by the severest punishment strikes the people with astonishment, it is so utterly foreign to all our modes of procedure, as known to them. Hitherto the process has been very slow, encumbered with forms; and such cases have always been carried to the supreme court for final decision. Now, the commissioner of Benares may give commissions to any he chooses (the city being under martial law), to try, decide, and execute on the spot, without any delay, and without any reference. The other day, a party was sent out to Gopigang, some thirty miles distant, to seize a landholder who had proclaimed himself rajah, and two men said to be his ministers. The three men were surprised and taken. They were tried on the spot by a commission composed of five military and civil officers. After a short trial, the three were condemned to be executed then and there. The rajah and the others protested they were innocent, and appealed to the *suddur* (the supreme court.) They were told there was no appeal to the suddur in these days. To their utter amazement and horror, preparations were made for their execution before their own door; and before the sun

* See *ante*, p. 230.

went down they were executed. Whatever may be thought of such doings, one thing is certain, that these executions have struck terror into the hearts of the marauders in this district, and have done much to awe them into better conduct. Roads near us, in which people were hourly plundered a fortnight ago, are now quite safe."

Order being restored at Benares by the energetic conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Neill, that officer, on the 9th of June, proceeded, with a detachment of his fusiliers, amounting altogether to six officers and 157 rank and file, to Allahabad; where, on receiving intelligence of the occurrences at Benares, the troops had burst into open revolt, and committed the most scandalous outrages. Lieutenant-colonel Neill, as before observed, had assumed the command of the station on his first arrival, thereby virtually superseding Brigadier Ponsonby, whose state of health incapacitated him for an active discharge of the important duties required of him. On the departure of the former officer, he had delegated the command to Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, pending the approval of government. The consequence of this irregular, but obviously necessary proceeding, was to place the actual command in a state of uncertainty, that could not fail to be detrimental to the military arrangements of the station at such a crisis; and on the 12th of June, the following telegram was forwarded, from the officer commanding at Benares, to the secretary to the government:—"Is the command of Benares to be made over to each senior officer in succession, on arrival, or to be retained by one officer; if so, the officer to command had better be named by government? An early reply is requested, Lieutenant-colonel Reid, said to be senior to Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, having arrived at Benares. Major Renaud, 1st Madras fusiliers, an experienced judge-advocate, has been appointed to act as such at Benares; I request that this be sanctioned; and as there is a great deal of court-martial work on hand, that I be permitted to detain him at Benares, on the departure of the rest of his regiment to-morrow afternoon towards Allahabad; there are plenty of officers with the 1st Madras fusiliers, and Colonel Neill made no objection to my appointing Major Renaud deputy judge-advocate-general."

To this application, forwarded at half-past 11 A.M., the following reply was telegraphed from Calcutta at half-past five of the same day:—"Lieutenant-colonel Gordon is appointed to command the Benares district, in the room of Brigadier Ponsonby. More by post. The command is not to be made over to any senior officer who may arrive at the station. You are authorised to detain Major Renaud, of the 1st Madras fusiliers, who is appointed to act as deputy judge-advocate-general at Benares." A message from Allahabad on the 16th, announced the safe arrival, at that place, on the 11th instant, of Colonel Neill, with his reinforcement.

An officer, writing from Benares on the 24th of June, reports the state of the place at that period thus:—"All right. On Monday night the Mint was crowded with panic-stricken ladies and civilians. I saw no reason for changing my quarters, but took the precaution of loading two pistol barrels and a musket in presence of my host's numerous khitmutgurs, lest they might think of violence. These my bearer saw me array, along with my sword, by my bedside; and I need hardly add, that saving by an unconscious musk rat, my slumbers were undisturbed till the morning. The day passed quietly along, and, the inconveniences of the crowded Mint beginning to tell, three ladies and an infant resolved to spend the night in this bungalow, rendered confident by its close proximity to the church, where a guard of about a hundred soldiers are always quartered. We had scarcely retired to rest when the officer in command at the church abruptly entered my room, and advised me to hurry off the ladies to the Mint, as an armed force was close upon Benares. With all haste I got the terrified ladies packed into the buggy, and drove to the Mint, where every person was in a state of excitement. The troops were all got under arms; and my arm, fortunately, was strong enough to permit me to take my place beside them. The civilians manned the terraces with their rifles, and would no doubt have done good service had an enemy appeared. But all remained perfectly quiet, and is likely to do so until the end of the world. We are now in our bungalows; and, the 'fatal' 23rd being over, many a one is more comfortable than when its fancied horrors lay before them. The rains are about to commence—indeed, we have had several showers. Cholera has made its appearance to a slight, but sometimes fatal, extent among our troops. The

rains, it is expected, will at once put a stop to this."

The exact strength of the gallant little band with which Lieutenant-colonel Neill saved Benares, was as follows:—Artillery—3 guns, 1 officer, 30 privates; her majesty's 10th regiment—3 officers and 150 privates; Madras fusiliers—3 officers and 60 privates: total—3 guns, 7 officers, 240 privates.

Matters continued quiet at Benares for some time, and energy was beginning to flag for want of excitement; when, about the 22nd of June, information was received at head-quarters, that a number of the rebels were encamped in a position some thirty miles from the city; and it was immediately resolved to dislodge them. Consequently, at seven o'clock in the evening of the 26th, a detachment of troops, consisting of 200 of the 78th highlanders, the whole of the Loodiana regiment, and 30 sowars of the 13th irregular cavalry, left Benares in search of the rebels. The result of the expedition is thus described in a letter from Benares of the 29th of June. After noticing the object of the expedition and the arrival of the troops at the rebel camp, the writer says—"The rascals, of course, fled for life on the approach of the gallant highlanders. You will, however, be gratified to learn, that 24 of the rebels were cut up by the cavalry and infantry, 23 caught and hung on the spot, 20 villages razed to the ground, and from 40 to 50 villagers flogged, in order to cool their thieving propensities. A few days before the detachment left, the magistrate offered a reward of 1,000 rupees for the head or person of the leader of the rebels, who is well known to the natives; yet such is their hatred towards us and strong propensity to plunder, which perhaps in many cases overrules the former, that not one would give him up. The troops, fortunately, got scent of the rascal, and caught him in a village yesterday; he was questioned about the plunder which he and his companions are believed to have, and which is said to amount to *two lacs* of rupees. He tried to gain time, in order to effect his escape, by taking them to a wrong place, and giving them false information about the plunder and his confederates: but his captors were not to be cajoled; he was hung up on a tree to keep *nine* others company that had been hung there the same morning. Several of those that were hung by the troops were identified as having been connected with the atrocious murder of an officer and his wife. The detachment returned to the camp about six o'clock this morning, in high spirits."

The following interesting narrative of the occurrences at Benares during the latter days of the month of June, has been furnished by a soldier of the 78th highlanders. It is effective and characteristic, and worthy of preservation. The writer says—"We arrived at Benares on the 25th of June, a distance of 421 miles, in eight days and nine nights. On the evening of the 27th of June, there were 240 of the 78th (I was one of them), and 100 of the Sikhs, and 30 of the sowars—that is, native cavalry—went out of Benares in carts, except the horsemen. At 3 o'clock P.M., next day, we were divided in three lots to scour the country. The division I was in went to a village, which was deserted. We set fire to it and burned it to the ground. We were coming back, when a gentleman came to us, and said, that a village over about two miles was full of them, and they were drawn up to give us battle. We marched, or rather ran to them; we got within 300 yards of them, when they ran. We fired after them, and shot eight of them. We were going to the village, when a man came running out to us, and up with his hand and saluted our officer. We shouted, that he was a sepoy, and to seize him. He was taken, and about twelve more. We came back to the carts on the road, and an old man came to us, and wanted to be paid for the village we had burned. We had a magistrate with us, who found he had been harbouring the villains and giving them arms and food. Five minutes settled it; the sepoy and the man that wanted money were taken to the roadside, and hanged to a branch of a tree. We lay on the road all night beside the two men hanging. Next morning, we got up and marched some miles through the fields, the rain pouring down in torrents. We came to another village, set fire to it, and came back to the road. During this time, the other divisions were not idle. They had done as much as us. When we came back, the water was running in at our necks, and coming out at our heels. There were about eighty prisoners; six were hung that day, and about sixty of them flogged. After that, the magistrate said, that there was a Holdar that he would give 2,000 rupees to get, dead or alive. We slept on the road

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rains, it is expected, will at once put a stop to this."

The exact strength of the gallant little band with which Lieutenant-colonel Neill saved Benares, was as follows:—Artillery—3 guns, 1 officer, 30 privates; her majesty's 10th regiment—3 officers and 150 privates; Madras fusiliers—3 officers and 60 privates: total—3 guns, 7 officers, 240 privates.

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were drawn up in three lines; it looked too many for us, but on we dashed, and in a short time they began to run. We set fire to a large village that was full of them; we surrounded it, and as they came rushing out of the flames, shot them. We took eighteen of them prisoners; they were all tied together, and we fired a volley at them and shot them on the spot. We came home that night, after marching twenty miles, and fighting nearly thirty to one. In this country, we are told that we had killed 500 of them; our loss was one man and one horse killed, and one man and one horse wounded."

JUANPORE.—Disheartened by the severe punishment they met with at Benares, the mutineers of the 37th regiment hastened towards Juanpore, a town situated about forty miles north-west of the former city, and formerly the capital of an independent state. Upon receiving intelligence of their approach, the European residents assembled at the Cutcherry, or office of the collector, and proceeded to make preparations for their safety and defence. On appealing to the soldiers upon guard at the collectorate, the latter, formed of a company of Sikhs, were loud in their protestations of loyalty, and swore to defend the *Sahib loge* (English gentlemen) to the last drop of their blood. A few seconds proved the utter worthlessness of their oaths; for as the Europeans turned from them to enter the building, one of the men took deliberate aim at Lieutenant Mard, commanding the guard, and shot him in the back! The unfortunate officer fell into the arms of a gentleman near him, who succeeded in carrying him into one of the apartments, and laid him upon the floor writhing with agony. Satisfied for the moment with this their first act of perfidy, the traitors fired a volley over the heads of the terrified dependents on their mercy, and then, without further violence, went off to plunder the treasury, that they might share its contents among themselves before the arrival of the mutineers from Benares. On their way to the treasury, the rebel band passed the gaol, where they met the civil magistrate, a Mr. Cuppage, who attempted to remonstrate with them upon the folly of their proceedings, not being aware of the murder they had so recently perpetrated. Impatient at his interference, the excitement of the mutineers was at once directed against the magistrate, whom they shot while yet speaking to them; and, leaving the corpse to the mercy of the budmashes and rabble of the town, hastened to accomplish the work of plunder Meanwhile, the Europeans at the Cutcherry, relieved of their presence, availed themselves of the opportunity to escape; and, risking the uncertain perils of the road rather than the certain destruction that awaited them on the return of the mutineers, fled, in such conveyances as they could procure at the moment, to Zjufferabad, on the Ganges, in the direction of Benares, where they sought refuge and conveyance by the native boats. The two most distressing incidents of this outbreak, were those of the deaths of Lieutenant Mard, and of his unfortunate wife, who was seized by an apoplectic fit on witnessing the fall of her husband. The lieutenant being too severely wounded to move, was unavoidably, for the preservation of the whole, left by his companions to die alone; and his treatment by the rebels, on their return to the Cutcherry, may be conjectured from their general conduct in reference to the wounded and dying that lay in the path of their cowardly vengeance.

It was most providential that the road taken by the fugitives from Juanpore was not the direct route to Benares, along which the full torrent of revolt was pouring at the moment of their flight, and overwhelming, in its fury, everything of European association that it came in contact with. The sowars of the irregular cavalry, and the sepoys of the 37th regiment, had determined to cut off every man, woman, and child belonging to the race they feared and hated; and had the Juanpore exiles been met with on their way, the slaughter of the whole would have been certain. As it was, their narrow escape was not unattended with peril and increasing anxiety. They had, as observed, engaged some native boats at Zjufferabad to go down the Ganges on their way to Benares; but they had not proceeded far before the boatmen, who now had the whole party completely in their power, commenced plundering them; and, having obtained whatever of money or jewels they possessed, they refused to proceed further, and compelled the distressed fugitives to go on shore, where they left them to make their way to Benares as they could. Fortunately, they were not very far from a native village in which a police station was established; and having at

length succeeded in reaching it, they obtained an escort and safe conveyance to the city of refuge.

A letter from a clergyman at Benares, refers to this Juanpore affair as follows:—"You will be glad to hear that the Reuthers from Juanpore, with Mr. J. Cæsar (the catechist) and his wife, are safe, and in Benares. On Thursday, the 4th, the discomfited mutineers from Benares set off for Juanpore. At eight on Friday, the 5th, two or three indigo planters rode at full speed into the Reuthers' compound, exclaiming, 'Fly for your lives! the sepoys are upon us!' They hurried off at once to the Cutcherry, where all the residents were assembled. The 37th first came up, and seem to have been afraid to attack them. Meanwhile, Mr. Cæsar was walking with Captain Mard, who commanded the Sikhs at Juanpore. Mrs. Cæsar said, 'The 37th are upon us!' 'The 37th!' said Captain Mard; 'what have we to fear from the 37th? our own men will keep them off.' Mr. Cæsar had scarcely left him, when he was struck by a ball from the Sikhs—staggered a few steps, and fell. It seems the Sikhs were afraid to rob the treasury till they had shot their officer. Then they began to pillage, and the residents took that opportunity to be off. Before they went, the Sikhs had come up, and fired in at all the windows of the Cutcherry, and they were obliged to lie down on the floor, the bullets whizzing over their heads. Mr. Cæsar saw the magistrate, Mr. Cuppage, lying dead in front of the gaol door. After most had escaped, up came the sowars, on whom we had been relying for our lives at Benares, until the arrival of the English troops. They had vowed to murder every European. They came to the deputy collector, an old East Indian. Both Hindoos and Mussulmans got around him, and said, 'Do him no harm; he has always been kind and just to us.'—'Can't help it,' said the sowars, 'he is a European.' They then repeated this to a sergeant and his wife, though the people pleaded for them, and said they were very kind and inoffensive. 'Can't help it,' was the reply, 'they are Europeans, and shall die.'"

At every successive stage of this military revolt, the fact of a deep-seated and wide-spread feeling of hatred and unappeasable revenge for an assumed wrong, is more plainly developed. The desire for plunder was but of secondary influence in producing the calamities to which the European residents of the various stations were exposed; and the native yearning for vengeance at length acquired a strength and force that could only be satisfied by an indiscriminate slaughter of the unoffending, innocent, and the presumed or pretended guilty.

Another letter, dated June 13th, describes, in almost similar terms, the incidents of this revolt. The writer says—"At Juanpore, the Europeans came badly off. We were much interested in them, as Mrs. P——, our late Chunar bride, was there with her husband. The first news they had of the outbreak was of the post being stopped on Friday, the 5th; then some indigo planters came riding in, and said that the 37th were close at hand, whereupon they all went to the Cutcherry, or collector's office. The 2nd company of Sikhs, stationed there, swore to defend them with their last drop of blood; and, as they walked into the Cutcherry, one of the blackguards shot Captain Mard through the back. They took him in and shut the doors, and laid him down on the floor, while the Sikhs kept firing in above their heads, and another party of them seized the treasure (some £25,000), and walked off with it; then the English came out, left poor Mard dying, and got into their carriages and drove away. They had to leave the Benares-road as the 13th cavalry were coming along it; and they kept knocking about the country till Tuesday, when a party from here fetched them in. Of course, during these four days they underwent great hardships, and were in perpetual danger of their lives; so you may fancy how welcome the English cheers sounded in their ears. Cuppage, the magistrate, was killed by a Sikh; and Mrs. Mard died of apoplexy; but the rest of the party got in safe."

As time progressed, circumstances threw further light upon the outbreaks at Bareilly, Shahjehanpore, Lucknow, and Moradabad, which clearly established the fact, that an arrangement had existed between the troops at those four stations, for the outburst of the revolt at each on the same day. The serious consequences that resulted from the movement at Shahjehanpore,* will warrant a further reference to that fatal occurrence; and the subjoined details are narrated by a native servant, who was present throughout the whole affair.

It has already been noticed, that a

* See *ante*, p. 180.

decided spirit of disaffection was exhibited by the sepoys of the 28th Bengal native infantry, on the night of Saturday, the 30th of May; but by management, the serious extent of the evil was effectually concealed from their officers, and on the following day the European residents attended divine worship at church as usual. The project of the conspirators was to surround the church and massacre the whole congregation; but some of the parties concerned were too impatient to wait until the middle of the service, when all would have arrived, and they might have been massacred without exception. Thus, the service had scarcely commenced before the mutineers congregated round the church, and called upon those within to come out to them, threatening, in case of delay, to fetch them out by force. The clergyman was the first who came out to remonstrate with the soldiers. He was instantly attacked, but escaped their fury with the loss of one hand. The collector, Mr. Ricketts, sought safety by hasty flight, but was pursued, and murdered in his own verandah, which he had succeeded in reaching. This gentleman had excited the particular hatred of the mutineers by changing the guard over the treasury, and in this way prevented the men of the 28th sharing the plunder among themselves alone. A Mr. Labadoor, a writer, was murdered in the church: in the confusion, his wife and sister, with the band-master, made their escape for a time, but eventually were reserved for a fate worse than death. Captain James, then in command of the 28th, was shot whilst endeavouring to reason with his men. They asserted that they were not such great traitors, for they had served the government faithfully for twenty years. As he turned away in disgust, they shot him. The clergyman, severely wounded as he was, hid himself in the river with a writer, Mr. Smith. The latter, towards the evening, went to the house of Mr. Ricketts; was there found by the sepoys, and murdered. The chaplain, seeing men weeding in the fields, thought that they might be induced to help him. He accordingly left his hiding-place, and offered them money if they would assist him in reaching some place of safety. No sooner did they see the money than they rushed upon the unfortunate man with their sticks, and knocking him down, commenced beating him to death. His cries attracted the attention of a Pathan in a neighbouring village, who, armed with a sword, rushed up and severed his head from his body. The assistant-magistrate, Mr. Smith, was shot by the sepoys in the verandah of his Cutcherry, where he had fled for safety. Dr. Bowling had been allowed to visit the hospital unmolested; but on his return, after the commencement of the outbreak, and when he was endeavouring to escape with his wife, child, and a European servant, he was shot by the sepoys. He was seated on the coach-box, and fell rolling to the ground. Mrs. Bowling was wounded in the forehead by a bullet, but joined some other fugitives, who, under an escort of fifteen sepoys and an havildar, were endeavouring to make off. It was but for a little time that these sepoys remained faithful; directly the plunder commenced they deserted their charge, and joined their comrades in sacking the treasury. It was the intention of the fugitives to escape towards Lucknow, since, if they attempted to reach the hills, they would be compelled to run the gauntlet of the native regiments stationed at Bareilly, Phillibheet, and other of the north-west stations. Those who escaped from the station succeeded in reaching the residence of the friendly rajah of Poorbyah, who lent them his elephant, and sent some of his men to escort them to the fort of Mohumdee, which was about thirty or forty miles distant. As the fugitives were sadly in want of money—the ladies especially being but half-clothed—Mrs. Bowling sold her carriage and horses to the rajah for 1,000 rupees; and upon this sum the fugitives were to subsist for a while. The following is a list of those who left the rajah's palace for Mohumdee:—Captain Sneyd, Captain and Mrs. Lysaght, Lieutenant Johnstone, Lieutenant and Mrs. Key, Lieutenants Scott and Rutherford, Mrs. Scott and Miss Scott, the wife and sister of Dr. Scott; Mrs. Bowling and child, with Mrs. Pereira, her servant; Mr. and Mrs. Lillie; the assistant-quartermaster, his wife, and three children. There were thus, in all, eight men, eight ladies, and four children. They arrived at Mohumdee in safety, and sent for dhoolies and bearers from Seetapore. These came on the second day after the despatch had been sent; but with them arrived two companies of the 41st native infantry; and some more bearers being required, the fugitives were compelled to wait another day at Mohumdee; and it was

not till the morning of the 6th of June that they prepared to depart. At nine o'clock on that day a third company of sepoys arrived, bringing with them a proclamation, which stated that the rule of the Company was over. Upon this a fearful tumult ensued. The treasury of Mohumdee was looted, bungalows were burnt, and the prisoners set free. Still the fugitives were not as yet molested, for the sepoys had taken a solemn oath on the water of the Ganges not in any way to harm them. But this safety did not last for long. All the fugitives and others, including Captain Orr, Mr. Thomason, and many other married and unmarried residents of Mohumdee, were ordered to appear outside the fort. They made their appearance, and the sepoys told them that the country had reverted from the British, and that it belonged now to the sepoys. The latter further pretended that they had received orders to convey the whole party to Seetapore. The fugitives accordingly set out on their journey, the ladies seated on country carts, and the men on foot. At night they all encamped on a plain. A hut was set up for the women; but the men were, of course, compelled to remain without shelter. Captain Sneyd ordered his own men to mount guard, but the sepoys of the 41st ejected them by force. On the following morning the march was renewed. As they neared the Goomtee river, a sepoy was heard approaching and calling out, "Victory, victory!" This was the signal that the Europeans at Seetapore had been massacred. The cry was at once taken up by all the sepoys present; and those who had empty muskets began to load. It was a frightful moment. The Christians of the party knew that they had heard in this treacherous yell their death-cry. The ladies sprang from the carts, and clung swooning to their husbands and brothers. Immediately volley after volley was poured in upon this band of fugitives, who died calling upon God for help, and upon their countrymen to revenge their blood. The rajah of Poorbyah still remained well-disposed, and did what little was left in his power. He had all those who were murdered at Shahjehanpore buried near the church. Those who were murdered on the banks of the Goomtee were buried by a tehseeldar.

SULTANPORE.—Resuming the continuous thread of events associated with the revolt in the north-west division of the presidency of Bengal, we arrive at Sultanpore, a town of minor importance in the Oude territory, situate about thirty-four miles south of the ancient city of Ayoda, or Oudee. At this place, the troops, consisting of a portion of the 13th Bengal irregular cavalry and native police, had mutinied early in the morning of Tuesday, the 9th of June, and their first act of blood was the murder of Colonel Fisher and Captain Gibbings, of the 15th irregular cavalry, the first of whom was shot by some of the native police while out walking, unconscious of the danger that surrounded him. Messrs. Block and Strogan, of the civil service, were also killed by the mutineers shortly after the commencement of the revolt; but the rest of the European residents, amounting to forty-five men, women, and children, were enabled to effect their escape to Bela, a town about forty-five miles W.N.W. of Cawnpore, where a troop of the 3rd irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Grant, had proceeded some days previous from Sultanpore, for the purpose of collecting revenue. From this station they were, after some difficulty, forwarded to Allahabad, which they at length reached in safety, but with the loss of everything they possessed of value, of which they were mercilessly deprived by marauding parties whom they met with on their route. The affair seems to have been of secondary importance, except as regards the blood shed at the commencement of the outbreak; and the following letter from the wife of Lieutenant C. Tucker, of the then late 15th irregular cavalry, appears to be the only document to which reference can be made for any further information on the subject. This lady, writing from Benares on the 27th of June, says—"About eight o'clock on Tuesday morning, poor Colonel Fisher, while out, was shot through the body by the native police. My husband (Lieutenant C. Tucker) directly went to him, and, after much trouble, persuaded some men to get him into a dhooly. He said he was dying; but T—— took out the ball, and gave him some water. He then tried to persuade the regiment to come near their colonel, but no one would obey any order. They were all under some trees close to our house. A party of them then made a rush at Captain Gibbings, who was on horseback at a little distance, and killed him; and then the men shouted to T—— to go away.

"The ladies from Sultanpore all escaped.

Only four people were killed there—namely, Colonel Fisher, Captain Gibbings, Mr. Block, and Mr. Strogan; the latter was one of those who were married when we were there. I am very sorry for his wife. Mr. Block was the only other married man of the four. All the houses in Sultanpore were burnt by the mutineers. They stole two or three boxes out of our house first, the groom said, and then burnt it; so we have lost everything, except what I happened to have with me here and the carriage and horses, which had taken away some of the ladies, and the horse that T—— was riding. My husband now found it was all over, and so rode off. Three men rode after him about a mile, and then returned. He thinks they must have wished to spare him, as they could easily have done anything they liked; but he was, I believe, a great favourite with the wing he commanded at Seetapore. He rode some distance, and then got into a jungle, where he stayed a great part of the day; but he had first gone into a village, with one of his grooms who had got his mare, and who said he would take care of him; but T—— found out that he meant to betray him, so he rode off.

"Only fancy how dreadful it was for him to be wandering about in the heat of the day, not knowing where to go, and getting people to give him water to drink at wells, and at last drinking it out of little streams, he was so terribly thirsty. At last, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he asked a man whom he saw for some water, and also if he could protect him, for he and his horse were both getting knocked up. The man said he would, and took him into his village and afterwards to his master, who lived in a native fort, and who was the principal person in the place; and there my husband stayed until the party from here went to fetch him. His escape was most providential, for he did not know the people about there. On the evening of the day I sent off your letters (my birthday, the 14th) one of the coolies I had sent with a letter to Sultanpore, returned with it, and one of our grooms with him, saying that on the 9th the troops at Sultanpore had mutinied, that Colonel Fisher, Captain Gibbings, and others had been killed, and that Lieutenant Tucker had escaped; but the groom did not know where he had gone. You can fancy what a terrible state I was in. Mr. H. Tucker directly sent out in the Sultanpore direction, offering £100 to whoever would bring him in. However, we could hear nothing of him till the following Wednesday evening, when a man brought in a letter from him, saying that he and others were safe under the protection of a native gentleman about fourteen miles from Sultanpore. A large party of natives, with elephants, were sent out the next day to bring them in here. They arrived safely yesterday morning, and I had the happiness again to meet my husband."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CITY OF ALLAHABAD; SUBTERRANEAN TEMPLE OF SIVA; LOYAL OFFER AND PROFESSIONS OF THE 6TH NATIVE INFANTRY; THANKED BY GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL ORDERS; INTELLIGENCE OF THE REVOLT AT BENARES; WARNING FROM CAWNPORE; SUDDEN OUTBREAK AND MUTINY OF THE 6TH REGIMENT, AND 3RD IRREGULAR CAVALRY; MURDER OF THE OFFICERS; MASSACRE OF THE EUROPEAN RESIDENTS, AND PLUNDER OF THE TOWN; ARRIVAL OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NEILL WITH MADRAS FUSILIERS; DISPERSION OF THE MUTINEERS; EXECUTION OF PRISONERS; OFFICIAL DESPATCHES, AND PRIVATE DETAILS OF THE OUTBREAK; OCCURRENCES AT ALLAHABAD TO THE END OF JUNE.

ALLAHABAD (the city of Allah), to which, in the early part of June, the flames of revolt had spread with terrible and devastating fury, is the capital of a subdivision and province of the same name in the presidency of Bengal, and is situated at the junction of the rivers Ganges (Gunga) and Jumna (Yamuna), in lat. 25° 27′ N., and long. 81° 50′ E., being 80 miles W. by N. of Benares, and 498 miles, in the same direction, from Calcutta. Its distance from Cawnpore is 143 miles, and from Lucknow about 127

Allahabad is supposed, by D'Anville, to occupy the site of an ancient city of the Prasii, named Palibothra,* which flourished long anterior to the invasion of India by Alexander the Great. It is called by the Brahmins *Bhat Prayag* (most holy), on account of its position at the most important of all the sacred confluences of rivers in Hindostan (all such confluences being declared sacred by the *Vedas*); and so great has been the repute of its sanctity, that more than 200,000 devotees have visited it from distant parts of India in the course of a single year, merely for the purpose of bathing in the venerated stream that laves its walls; while numbers of pilgrims, annually, have drowned themselves at the point of junction of the rivers, in full assurance that, by so doing, they secured for themselves an eternity of happiness! Such sacrifices are deemed highly meritorious; and on their occurrence, we are told that the devotees were conducted by Brahmins to the centre of the stream, and there sunk with pots of earth tied to their feet.

The modern city of Allahabad was built about the middle of the sixteenth century, by the emperor Akber, and soon became one of his favourite residences, being enriched with a number of magnificent edifices, and a fort of great strength, intended as well for the residence of the sovereign, as for the protection of the surrounding districts. This fortress is still in good preservation, and the walls, 2,500 yards in circuit, rise on the east and south sides directly from the water. The town itself extends along the banks of the Jumna, on the west side of the fort; but the greater part of the existing edifices are of mud, built upon the ancient brick foundations of structures that have crumbled away in the lapse of successive ages, or have fallen before the violence of the early Mohammedan conquerors. The soil throughout the city and a great extent of the surrounding country, consists chiefly of materials that have been in use for building purposes, and of fragments of pottery and household vessels, that attest the original magnitude of the holy city.

A portion of the fort of Allahabad is built over a cavern, or subterranean temple of Siva, the roof of which is supported by pillars of singular form and extraordinary dimensions; and within this gloomy vault, sunk deep into the bosom of the earth, part of the religious ceremonies enjoined to the pilgrims who visit the city of Allah, must be performed before the deity can be propitiated. The cavern is vast, dark, and mysterious; and is asserted, and believed, by the superstitious devotees, to extend as far as Delhi, a distance of 429 miles, and to be inhabited, for the greater part of the way, by enormous snakes and noxious reptiles. A recent traveller from Europe,† who visited this extraordinary temple of Brahminical idolatry (called by the natives Peetulpooree), informs us, that "a fakir waits at the entrance, who, for a small gratuity, will descend with the inquiring tourist, and exhibit a portion of its gloomy wonders by torchlight; for it is only at the entrance, and one other place, that the light of day can penetrate. The passage, for a considerable distance, is not more than four feet broad by about eight feet in height, cut through an argillaceous limestone rock, of chunam. As it descends, the walls and roof become covered with inscriptions; and, at intervals, are nitches containing the mutilated fragments of idols, and other objects of Hindoo veneration. After proceeding rather more than a hundred feet from the commencement of the level, the cave widens out to gigantic proportions, and the Linga of Mahadeo,‡ on an altar of stone, is revealed to the wor-

* *India Antiqua.* See Maurice's *Antiquities*, vol. i.

† Mr. Parbury.

‡ Mahadeva, or Mahadeo (the Great God), is a name of Siva. The Linga, a huge polished stone of cylindrical form, rounded or convex at the top, is a symbol of the god in his character of Regenerator; and it appears to be synonymous with the Phallus of the Greeks, and the Priapus of the Romans. Coleman, in his *Mythology of the Hindoos*, says—"Of the origin of the mystic worship of the *Linga* and *Youi*, little appears to be understood. It may be presumed to have been nature under the male and female forms personified, as Siva, the Sun (which he is equally with Surya) or Fire, the genial heat of which pervades, generates, and vivifies all; and Bhavani, who, as the goddess of nature, is also the Earth—the universal mother. The two active principles of life having been thus personified, may have been subsequently converted, by the grossness of idolatry (which in its progress invariably seeks to gratify the sensual appetites rather than to elevate the minds of its votaries), from imaginary forms to gross realities—from the personified symbols of nature, to typical representations of the procreative powers of the symbols themselves. The places of Linga idolatry are still numerous throughout Hindostan, and the worshippers of the Idol are, beyond comparison, in excess of the votaries of any other deity or symbol recognised by the sacred books of the Hindoos. Some of these emblems are of enormous

shippers. From this hall of gloom and mystery, paths branch off in various directions, forming, in their course and intersections, a perfect labyrinth, having a number of recesses filled with broken idols—silent, but imperishable memorials of the hatred and vengeance of the troops of Akber, by whom the temple and its altars were first profaned. The cavern is now tenanted by insects and reptiles without number; and among them are millions of cockroaches, who, attracted by the light, fly around it, and about the unwelcome intruders on their privacy. Toads and snakes crawl and glide across the slimy paths, and dispute the invasion of their dismal territory; while bats flit about each instant, so close to the torch of the guide, that its non-extinction is surprising. All here is damp, dreary, and noisome."*

The province of Allahabad, formerly a territory belonging to the nabob of Oude, was ceded to the East India Company in 1801, and its capital has always retained considerable importance under their rule. Among other improvements upon its former condition, Allahabad contains a permanent judicial establishment, whence periodical circuits are made through the province. New and handsome buildings, for the official purposes of government and the residence of its officers, have been erected within the last few years; and, in 1852, a railway was laid down to communicate with Cawnpore, and form part of a great trunk line from Calcutta to Lahore. A government school contained, in 1848, 103 pupils, of whom eighty-one were Hindoos. Iron steamers ply on the Ganges, from Calcutta to the city, a distance by the river of not less than 800 miles. The cantonments are situated at a distance of nearly four miles from the fort and river, and were generally occupied by two or more regiments of native infantry, some cavalry, and a company of foot artillery. The officer in command resided in the fort.

On the morning of Saturday, the 23rd of May, a detachment of her majesty's 84th regiment arrived at Allahabad, *en route* to Cawnpore, with discretionary orders to the officer in command at the former place, to detain the force if it should appear necessary to do so; but as, at the time, no cause for apprehending immediate danger was apparent, the men of the 84th, on the following day, proceeded onward to their destination, whither they were shortly followed by the remainder of the regiment.

At this period the troops in cantonments consisted of the 6th regiment of native infantry, a body of the 3rd Oude irregular cavalry, 400 men of the Sikh regiment of Ferozepore, under the command of Lieutenant Brasyer, and a company of European artillery, in charge of Captain Harwood. The garrison in the fort was composed of about thirty invalid European soldiers, and the magazine and commissariat sergeants; and in the fort and cantonments together, there were about 200 European women and children, of various ranks and ages. There were also some native Christians.

Rumours of disturbances in the adjacent or more distant districts, were of frequent occurrence; and, day by day, the confidence that had been felt in the maintenance of tranquillity at Allahabad became weaker, when, as if to reassure the doubters, the men of the 6th native regiment spontaneously expressed their abhorrence of the conduct of the corps that had mutinied, and volunteered to march against Delhi, to aid in the restoration of order. Impressed by their assurances of loyalty and devotion, the following telegraphic message was forwarded by the officer in command to the secretary to the government:—

"Allahabad, June 2nd, 1.5 P.M.—The 6th regiment of native infantry has volunteered to serve against the mutineers at Delhi, if required. The effect of this in the city of Allahabad will be most beneficial. The Europeans are passing through daily to Cawnpore, and quickly. All quiet here at present."—To this gratifying announcement the secretary to the government immediately replied—"The thanks of the governor-general in council, to the 6th regiment of native infantry, for their declaration of loyalty and soldierlike offer to march to Delhi, will be announced in the *Gazette*. Inform the regiment of this."—On the 4th of June the following general

size, and are usually of basalt: others are made, at morning and evening, of the clay of the Ganges, and, after worship, are thrown into the sacred stream."—(Pp. 66—175.) Maurice describes a dark recess, or *sacellum*, in the great temple of Juggernauth in Orissa, in which the Linga is worshipped. He says of this recess—"All within was open and plain, except that in the centre stood a square, low altar, on which was placed a large stone of cylindrical form, standing on its base, but the top was round or convex."—(*Indian Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 157.)

* *Hand-book for India and Egypt.*

order of the governor-general in council, was published by authority:—

"Fort William, June 4th, 1857.—The right honourable the governor-general in council, has received, with much satisfaction, a report that the whole of the 6th regiment of native infantry, at Allahabad, have expressed their loyalty to the government, and their desire to be led against the mutineers at Delhi; and also a further report that the three companies of the 34th regiment of native infantry at Barrackpore, have expressed themselves in the same soldierlike manner. The governor-general in council thanks the men of these regiments for this mark of their devotion, and directs that this tender of their services, at a time when so many misguided soldiers of the Bengal army have swerved from their allegiance to the state, shall be placed among the records of government, and shall be read at the head of every regiment and company at a parade ordered for the purpose.—J. H. BIRCH,

"Secretary to the government of India."

This public appreciation of their loyalty by the governor-general, appeared to afford much gratification to the men of the 6th regiment, who were loud in expressions of gratitude for the notice taken of their offer; and, with this feeling among the native troops, nothing occurred between the 2nd and the 5th to disturb the quiet of the garrison, or alarm the European inhabitants. During the morning of the 5th, however, intelligence arrived of the revolt at Benares, with, as usual, much exaggeration of the consequences; added to which, the whole community was thrown into a state of agitation, by the announcement that a body of the mutineers were on their way, to commit outrages among the European residents at Allahabad. On this very morning, the men of the 6th regiment, probably surmising that doubts of their truthfulness were entertained by the Europeans at the station, went up to their officers in a body, unarmed, and with tears in their eyes, besought them to rely on their honour! It has been since observed, that "the scene which then ensued would not have disgraced the pantomimic extravagances of the early days of the first French revolution; the officers and men took each other's hands, and, with hilarious protestations of loyal devotion and martial resolve, fraternised in the most approved manner." It is just possible, from the enthusiasm of the moment, and the perfect confidence that appeared to be established on both sides, that if a body of rebels had come in sight at that moment, it would have been attacked and destroyed. Such, however, was not the case; the opportunity was not afforded; and sepoy loyalty, for want of immediate exercise, effervesced, and vanished into air.

During the day, a telegram from Sir H. Wheler, the brigadier in command at Cawnpore, directed the officer in charge at Allahabad to "man the fort with every serviceable European, and to make a good stand." This was ominous of approaching mischief: the civilians were accordingly at once ordered into the fort, and those capable were formed into a volunteer corps, numbering, with invalids and the staff-sergeants, about a hundred men—the charge of the main gate of the fort being entrusted to eighty men of the yet apparently *loyal* 6th regiment. Several European merchants, and some *half-castes* in government employ, still, however, remained outside the fort, from mere disinclination to believe the real existence of danger. Some of the European officers, also, whose families were resident between the fort and the cantonments, were still without the walls of the fortress, as well as others on duty at outposts. Amongst those were the fort-adjutant (Captain Birch) and his family; with Lieutenant Innes, the chief engineer, who had only the previous day (viz., on the 4th) resigned an appointment that necessitated his residence within the fort, and, on account of his health, had gone to a bungalow at some distance from the town. Two guns, with two young officers who had recently joined, and Captain Harwood, of the artillery, had been dispatched to the river bank to cover the bridge of boats, and prevent the advance of any mutineers from Benares, should they appear in that direction. Two companies of the 6th regiment, with some artillerymen and two guns, and Lieutenant Alexander, with 150 troopers of the 3rd Oude irregulars, occupied a garden between the bridge and the fort. All necessary caution seems to have been exercised, and order prevailed throughout the day; but before nightfall, stragglers from other stations had reached the cantonments (four miles from the fort), and, by their representations, contrived to arouse a mutinous spirit among their too willing hearers. The Mohammedans were adjured

by their common faith, the Hindoos by their beloved *caste*, to unite, and strike down the tyrants that would desecrate the one, and utterly destroy the other; while the fanatics of both races were assured, that bodies of European troops were marching up the country, for the purpose of destroying all who should refuse to become Christians. The sepoys at first hesitated, then argued; became satisfied of their danger; and then determined, as one man, to exterminate the whole of the families of their oppressors within reach of their weapons. At half-past nine in the evening of the 5th of June, while the officers were yet assembled in the mess-room, a bugler of the 6th regiment sounded the assembly. The officers, imagining some disturbance had taken place in the bazaar or the neighbourhood, rushed out of the house, and the foremost of them were instantly shot down. One or two of the others contrived to escape to the fort; but five officers of the 6th regiment, and several young ensigns doing duty with that corps, were inhumanly massacred. The moment the bugle sounded, the sepoys, who were already prepared, seized the remaining guns, and fired at the artillery officer who attempted to resist them. In the meanwhile, the signal had been understood by the sepoys at the bridge, and the officers with them were hustled and insulted. Several shots glanced by, or passed over them; but they were finally permitted to escape from the mutineers. Lieutenant Alexander, on hearing the tumult, immediately proceeded in the direction of it, to ascertain the cause; but as he galloped along, at the head of a few of his troopers, a sepoy sprang from some hiding-place, and shot him through the heart. His death was sudden; and it was merciful when compared with the barbarities practised upon the persons of several of his gallant but unfortunate brother-officers. Captain Harwood, of the artillery, finding it useless to contend alone with a host of infuriated mutineers, took opportunity to escape in the confusion, and reached the fort in time to put the inmates upon their guard. The first step taken by the officer in command was to disarm the men of the 6th regiment, who had charge of the principal gate; and their muskets were found ready capped and loaded, in readiness for the first summons from the cantonments. These men were then turned out of the fort, as it was impossible to feel secure with them at large, and there were not sufficient Europeans that could be spared to guard them if retained in the fort. They lost no time in joining their comrades; and having liberated about 3,000 prisoners from confinement in the gaol, the whole body distributed itself through the town and cantonments, and the work of plunder and destruction commenced in every direction. Captain Birch, the fort-adjutant, and Lieutenant Innes, executive engineer, who were, as already mentioned, outside the fort at the time, were both shot down. An officer of the 6th was pinned to the ground with bayonets, and, while yet alive, a fire was kindled on his body. Three others escaped to the fort by swimming across the Ganges, and succeeded in obtaining refuge before their pursuers came up with them. Several of the Europeans who had a few days previously taken refuge in the fort, happened, at the moment of the outbreak, to be outside, on account of the excessive heat and overcrowding of the place, and their reliance upon the friendly assurances of the sepoys on guard; and they were slaughtered without mercy, by some of the very men who had encouraged them to rely upon their good feeling and that of their comrades. Of these poor creatures, several were barbarously tortured before death released them from the fiendish malignity of their unprovoked tormentors. One family, consisting of three generations, was burned alive; and not a single individual, old or young—the hoary grandsire, or the prattling babe in its mother's arms—was permitted to escape. Some of the defenceless creatures were cut to pieces by slow degrees, and with a refinement of cruelty that might have been envied by the grand inquisitor of the Indies in the palmiest days of Portuguese dominion in that country; the nose, ears, lips, fingers, and toes, of both men and women, were slowly and deliberately chopped off, and then the limbs and bodies were hacked, until the loss of blood prevented the sufferers from affording further sport to the butchers by their convulsive agonies, and piteous, but unavailing, appeals for mercy. Infants were actually torn from their mothers' arms, and their little limbs chopped off with tulwars yet reeking with their fathers' blood; while the shrieking mother was forcibly compelled to hear the cries of her tortured child, and to behold, through scalding tears of agony, the death-

writhings of the slaughtered innocent. More than fifty Europeans perished in the first outburst of this demoniac fury; and to many of the females, a merciless death was even the least of the cruelties they were subjected to by the gallant sepoys of the 6th regiment, so recently complimented by the government for their professions of loyalty and devotion.

In this outbreak at Allahabad, the miscreants did not confine their outrages altogether to the European community. As soon as they had obtained possession of the guns outside the fort, they commenced firing into the town at random. The houses of several of the wealthy natives were broken into and plundered, and afterwards set fire to; the banking-houses were ransacked, and shops were emptied of their stores; while in the bungalows occupied by the European residents, the destruction was wanton and universal. Furniture was broken into fragments, glass and crockery utterly smashed, wearing apparel hacked and cut to pieces, and even the canvas of the punkahs cut into shreds, to mark their uncontrollable hatred of the people who had lived among them as friends, and whose "salt" they were eating up to the hour of their treason being consummated by rapine and murder.

Lieutenant-colonel Simpson, of the 6th regiment, who was in command of the fort and station at the time of the mutiny, describes the circumstances attending the affair, in a letter from Allahabad of the 27th June, thus:—"I will give you an account of the mutiny of the wretched 6th regiment, which revolted to a man nearly, and deceived their officers, who trusted them well to the last. So quietly did they keep their councils that we did not expect anything of the kind until it actually broke out on the night of the 6th of June, when I was walking home from the mess. The alarm sounded at 9 P.M. I immediately ordered my horse, and galloped to the parade. On reaching it, I found the officers trying to 'fall-in' their men. I then rode up to inquire why two 9-pounder guns had been brought there instead of being taken to the fort, where they were urgently required, and where I had ordered them to be taken. These guns were attached to a company posted at the Shoossie bridge of boats, and not required there. While being escorted by the artillery officer, an havildar, and sixteen men, this guard insisted on taking the guns to cantonments, and fired on the artillery officer! He sought the assistance of poor Alexander, of the 3rd Oude irregular cavalry, who came, and, rushing at the guns, was killed on the spot. Harwood, the artillery officer, seeing he could not hold the guns, galloped into the fort. But to return to the 6th regiment. The guard over the guns on the parade fired at me. I then saw the corps was in open mutiny, and galloped to the left of the lines, where the havildar-major and some of the light company surrounded me, and begged me to seek safety in the fort, or I should be shot. I rode, however, to the treasury with the view of saving the treasure (nineteen lacs.) On my arrival a sentry fired at me, the ball grazing my helmet. After this, I received a regular volley from the guard of thirty men on one side, with another volley from a night picket of thirty men on the other. A guard of poor Alexander's irregulars stood passive. I galloped past the mess-house, where the guard was drawn out at the gate and fired at me. Here my horse got seriously wounded and nearly fell, but I managed to spur him to the fort (two miles) without further impediment. There the horse died shortly after of three musket-shot wounds. On reaching the fort, I immediately disarmed the guards of the 6th regiment on duty, and turned them out, leaving the Sikh regiment to hold it, the only European troops being seventy-four invalid artillery got from Chunar. The Madras European regiment began to pour in a few days after, and the command devolved on the lieutenant-colonel of that corps."*

One of the civilians, who had taken refuge in the fort and had not left it after the first alarm, writes thus of the outbreak and subsequent horrors:—"On the alarm-bugle being sounded, we ran up to the ramparts in breathless silence. The firing grew heavier, and we all thought that the insurgents had entered the station, and were being beaten off by the regiment. So steady was the musketry, regular file firing; on, on it continued, volley after volley. 'Oh,' we all said, 'those gallant sepoys are beating off the rebels,' for the firing grew fainter in the distance, as if they were driving a force out of the station. But before long the sad truth was known. Harwood rode in, bringing the tidings that the wretched sepoys had risen, had seized his

* Lieutenant-colonel Neill.

guns, and had marched them up to the station. He had escaped, and had run up to poor Alexander's camp, who jumped on his horse and rode up towards the lines, with as many of his men as could be got ready; he had been caught in an ambush by a body of sepoys lying in wait in an empty tank, and had been killed by a musket being placed to his side, blowing out his heart. His poor body was brought in later in the night, and I gave his hand a last shake, and shed tears over his last bed.

"The officers were at mess when the wretches sounded the alarm-bugle to bring them to the parade, and shot them down right and left! Nine poor little ensigns doing duty with the regiment were bayoneted to death in the mess-room, and three of the officers who escaped heard their cries as they passed! Poor boys, who had never given offence to any native, nor caused dissatisfaction to the sepoys. Five officers were shot belonging to the regiment, besides the nine poor boys. Birch and Innes, with the sergeant-major (in all, seventeen military men), many merchants, and others, were most cruelly butchered—in all, fifty Europeans fell that night by the hands of the murderous sepoys. The treasury was plundered, the prisoners released from gaol, and the work of destruction commenced. The whole station was destroyed, house after house plundered and fired. What a night! Each moment we expected the Sikhs would turn on us, and then! * * * But the Almighty mercifully decreed otherwise. We disarmed the 6th guard at the main gate, and found the villains with loaded and capped muskets, ready to turn out!

"What an escape we had! Five officers came in, all having escaped in a wonderful manner—three naked, having had to swim the Ganges. We were all night under arms, and in the morning lay down on our cots sad and weary, each moment expecting to be called up. The streets of the city are about half a mile from the fort; and during the four or five following days troops of the rioters were to be seen rushing from place to place plundering and burning. Day and night we manned the ramparts in the hot blazing sun, and day and night the guns and mortars belched forth, throwing shell and grapeshot, tearing down houses, and scattering the demons wherever they were seen."

The melancholy fate of Lieutenant Innes is related in the subjoined narrative of Lieutenant Brown of the artillery, extracted from a letter to the brother of the unfortunate officer. Lieutenant Brown says—"My chief object in wishing to have written to you at an earlier date was to tell you of the sad fate of poor Innes. He had, previous to the outbreak and mutiny of the 6th regiment, been ordered into the fort in his official capacity of executive engineer, and he remained in it for about a week, when, what with the excessive heat and hard work, he became unwell, applied for me to officiate in his place, and got leave to return to his house in cantonments. He had lived there some days, and got better. I used to drive up almost daily to the office, which was still in his house, and remained with him for some hours. He was daily recovering, and was in hopes of being soon able to resume work. The last time I saw him he complained of feeling lonely, as that part of the station had been entirely deserted by Europeans, excepting himself, and had arranged with Birch, the fort-adjutant, to sleep in his house, which was more centrally situated; and doubtless he had gone there on that fearful night; for both he and Birch started together along the road leading to the Ganges river, away from the station, so as to avoid having to come through that part of the cantonments where these rebels were in force, and keeping up a very sharp fire.

"Their intention evidently was to drop down the river in a boat and thus reach the fort; but in this they were frustrated, though it had almost been accomplished. They had reached the river, were in the boat, and were just starting, when, most unfortunately, they were recognised by a guard of the 6th regiment stationed there, and, sad to say, were both shot in the boat. I clung to the hope that poor Innes had escaped; but a day after day passed over without any tidings, I could not but fear the worst; and in him we have to mourn the loss of as fine a fellow as ever lived. I grieve for him more than for any of the others who fell here, as I knew him better and esteemed him much. His house shared the fate of all the others; and the only single thing of all his property which I have succeeded in recognising or recovering is his Bible, which, though rather mangled, is so far safe. * * * Poor Innes! he was far too gallant a fellow to fall by the hands of such treacherous, cold-blooded villains."

Having sated themselves with blood and

pillage, accompanied by the most diabolical excesses, the mutineers withdrew from the city and cantonments early in the morning of the 7th of June, having first installed a Mohammedan priest as governor of the district; who, hoisting the green standard of the prophet, proclaimed himself vicegerent of the king of Delhi. By the orders of this man, a strict search was made for any Europeans that might have concealed themselves in the town or suburbs; and many unfortunates, whose fate will ever remain uncertain for want of means to identify them, were dragged from their hiding-places and butchered.

Another of the Europeans in the civil employ of the Company, who had found an asylum in the fort, writes thus, a few days after the occurrences at Allahabad:—

"We have been so bewildered lately, that I have lost all recollection of dates, and of when I last wrote to you. We were incarcerated in that horrid fort from the 6th to the 18th of this month; and a fearful time we had of it. God grant that I may never pass such a time again! Better to die by the sword fighting, than to see such sights of horror, and to pass such a time of anxiety. I do not think that I told you in my last letter of the treachery of the 6th native infantry, or of the fearful night of the 6th of June. I can hardly write it, so sad and miserable is the story. God, in his infinite mercy, preserved me from a dreadful death at the hands of the bloodthirsty sepoys. I told you, in my last letter, that we were apprehensive of an outbreak on the part of the city people, and that I had taken up a position at the gaol, ready to make a stand; that the officers of the 6th native infantry had all confidence in their men, though we had not; for now no one can trust those wretched natives. Well, matters went on quietly enough till Friday, the 5th, when news of the disturbance at Benares came up, with a report that a number of the insurgents were on their way to attack this station. On the same day an order came from the brigadier at Cawnpore to 'man the fort with every available European, and make a good stand.' We non-military men were instantly ordered into the fort, being formed into a militia under the orders of the officer commanding the garrison. We slept in the fort on that Friday, the 5th, doing duty upon the ramparts, and returned to the station the following morning; but only for the morning, going into the fort again in the afternoon. At this time we had in the fort about thirty invalid artillery soldiers, some few commissariat and magazine sergeants, and we volunteers mustering above a hundred men. There were also 400 Sikhs, and eighty of the wretched 6th guarding the main gate! A great number of the European merchants and half-castes remained outside, believing the report to be only a cry of 'Wolf,' and supposing it to be a false alarm. The report of the approach of the insurgents was false; but, alas! would that the poor creatures had taken advice and joined us in the fort! Among those outside were poor Captain Birch, the fort-adjutant, a married man (poor fellow!) with a family; and Innes, the executive engineer, who had the previous day resigned his appointment in the fort from ill-health, and had gone up to his bungalow. My poor dear friend, Alexander, of the irregulars, was in a garden near the fort, with 150 of his troopers. Two guns under Harwood, of the artillery, had been sent down to the river, to guard the bridge of boats over the Ganges towards Benares. Hicks, of the 6th native infantry, and two little griffs,* were also stationed there in charge of two companies of that regiment. Well, all these poor fellows were out, and we were inside the fort, through the mercy of the Almighty. We were told-off on our guard, and had laid ourselves down on our beds (those who were not on watch), when, about half-past nine, we heard firing in the station, and every man was immediately summoned to his post."—The writer then describes the incidents of the night; but, from his position in the fort, he chiefly repeats the information of others.

Among "the poor little griffs" alluded to in the preceding letter, one youth eminently deserves honourable remembrance, for qualities exhibited during this fiery ordeal, in which the heroism of the young warrior, and the sustaining faith of the Christian martyr, are triumphantly conspicuous. One of the officers who escaped the fate of his comrades, writes from Allahabad a few days after the occurrence described as follows:—"When the wretched 6th regiment mutinied at Allahabad and murdered their officers, an ensign, only sixteen years of age, who was left for dead

* Young officers, on their first arrival in India, have long been termed "griffins."

among the rest, escaped in the darkness to a neighbouring ravine. Here he found a stream, the waters of which sustained his life for four days and nights. Although desperately wounded, he contrived to raise himself into a tree during the night for protection from wild beasts. Poor boy! he had a high commission to fulfil before death released him from his sufferings.

"On the fifth day he was discovered, and dragged by the brutal sepoys before one of their leaders, to have the little life left in him extinguished. There he found another prisoner, a Christian catechist, formerly a Mohammedan, whom the sepoys were endeavouring to torment and terrify into a recantation. The firmness of the native was giving way as he knelt amid his persecutors, with no human sympathy to support him. The boy-officer, after anxiously watching him for a short time, cried out—'Oh, my friend, come what may, do not deny the Lord Jesus!'

"Just at this moment the alarm of a sudden attack by the gallant Colonel Neill, with his Madras fusiliers, caused the instant flight of the murderous fanatics. The catechist's life was saved. He turned to bless the boy whose faith had strengthened his faltering spirit. But the young martyr had passed beyond all reach of human cruelty. He had entered into rest."*

Towards the evening of the 7th of June, the little garrison was cheered by the arrival of about fifty men of the 1st Madras fusiliers, which had been sent forward by Lieutenant-colonel Neill from Benares, where he had effectually restored order by his energy and decision. As soon as the mutiny of the 6th regiment was reported at that place, the lieutenant-colonel, with forty-three men and three officers, instantly set out for Allahabad; and, in two nights, got over seventy miles of ground; relays of natives pushing on the light-wheeled carriages containing the men, in places where horses could not be obtained in sufficient quantity for the purpose. Upon his arrival on the 11th, he lost no time in relieving the inmates of the fort from their confinement, and clearing the city and suburbs of the budmashes and mutineers that were still prowling amidst the ruined dwellings for the sake of plunder and bloodshed. In the first encounter with these ruffians, two men of the fusiliers were killed, and five wounded—a circumstance that imparted additional vigour to the exertions of their comrades in the work of expulsion: and such was the earnest good-will with which the men went about their work, that the mutinous and excited rabble—as cowardly in the face of danger as they were ferocious in the hour of triumph over defenceless victims—were seized with a panic, and fled precipitately to the camp of the pretended vicegerent, in a strong position a short distance from the suburbs. On the following day Colonel Neill, with 200 men, some guns, and irregular cavalry, swept through the cantonments and adjacent villages, routing the vicegerent of his majesty of Delhi, who, with some of the more active of his followers, fled in the direction of the insurgent capital. While the colonel and his force were thus occupied on land, an armed steamer was dispatched up the Jumna, clearing the banks of the river as she advanced. After this combined operation had been successfully carried out, and a goodly number of prisoners collected, the functions of the provost-marshal were called into action; and for several days the hangman and his assistants were zealously employed in disposing of the treacherous miscreants and their abettors.

One of the volunteers in the fort writes thus of the events subsequent to the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Neill's reinforcements:—"We were shut up miserably enough in the fort till the Madras fusiliers came up, and then our fun began: we volunteers were formed in three divisions, and sallied forth with the Sikhs into the city, and had several skirmishes in the streets, where we spared no one. We had several volleys poured into us; but their firing was so wild, that their bullets passed over and around us harmlessly. The flagstaff was always to the front; and they were so daring and reckless, that the 'flagstaff boys' became a by-word in the fort. Every

* This noble boy, who had left England only on the 20th of the previous March, was the second son of Oswald Cheek, Esq., town-clerk of Evesham in Worcestershire, and would have been seventeen years of age had he lived to the 31st of July. Soon after the arrival of Arthur Marcus Hill Cheek at Calcutta, he was appointed to an ensigncy in the 6th regiment, stationed at Allahabad, and joined the corps on the 19th of the following May, scarcely three weeks before the revolt that led to his brutal murder. His career was brief as a soldier, but as a Christian his end was glorious; and regret for his loss is absorbed in admiration of the fortitude and enduring faith of the youthful martyr.

rascality that was performed was put down to them; and in the end the volunteers got a bad name for plundering. The Sikhs were great hands at it, and, in spite of all precaution, brought a great amount of property into the fort. Such scenes of drunkenness I never beheld.* Sikhs were to be seen drunk on duty on the ramparts, unable to hold their muskets. No one could blame them; for they are such jolly, jovial fellows, so different from the sepoys.

"At last, when reinforcements came up, we all marched out, drove the insurgents out of the city, and took possession of it and the station, where we have remained ever since in the collector's house—about twenty of us; others are in the *pucka* (brick-built) houses that were not burnt; and the fusiliers and 89th (Queen's) in the church.

"When we could once get out of the fort, we were all over the place, cutting down all natives who showed any signs of opposition: we enjoyed these trips very much, so pleasant it was to get out of that horrid fort for a few hours. One trip I enjoyed amazingly: we got on board a steamer with a gun, while the Sikhs and fusiliers marched up to the city; we steamed up, throwing shot right and left, till we got up to the bad places, when we went on shore and peppered away with our guns, my old double-barrel that I brought out bringing down several niggers, so thirsty for vengeance was I. We fired the places right and left, and the flames shot up to the heavens as they spread, fanned by the breeze, showing that the day of vengeance had fallen on the treacherous villains. Every day we had expeditions to burn and destroy disaffected villages, and we have taken our revenge. I have been appointed chief of a commission for the trial of all natives charged with offences against government and persons; day by day we have strung up eight and ten men. We have the power of life and death in our hands; and I assure you we spare not. A very summary trial is all that takes place; the condemned culprit is placed under a tree, with a rope round his neck, on the top of a carriage, and when it is pulled away, off he swings.

"All is now well and quiet; but where smiling homes once existed, are now only blackened walls and desolation. My old house is in ruins; it had just been repaired for me; and my little house, into which I had moved for a season, is in the same state. I have lost nearly everything, though my servants behaved splendidly, and saved all they could. Two tables, a few chairs, three beds, a few odd volumes of my dear old books, and my silver, is all I have in the world; however, my life has been mercifully spared, I thank God! My horses I have saved; I sent them to poor Alexander for safety and for use, before the fearful night of the 6th, when his sowars rode two of them, and 'Old Smuggler' saved Harwood's life. When he ran up to his camp he mounted him, and he dashed through the sepoys like an old trump, as he is. I have the good old beast under me everywhere, carrying on the work of retribution. Now that we have plenty of men, a force is to be moved up to Cawnpore, to relieve the poor fellows there, who are hard-pressed, being intrenched in a kind of made-up fort.

"The commissioner, Mr. Chester, sends me as the political agent with the force, and I trust to see some service before I return. At any other time the sun would have knocked us down like dogs; but all this month we have been out in the middle of the day, toiling like coolies, yet I never have been better in my life. Such an appetite! The whole country has been up; and frightful massacres have been taking place all over the north-west. We have not yet heard half the horrors, for the dâks have been stopped for three weeks."

A letter from an officer at this station says, under date of the 23rd of June—"Colonel Neill is now hard at work getting his force together, to move on to the assistance of Cawnpore and Lucknow, both places being in the greatest danger; for all the sepoys that have run away are now gathering around Lucknow. Our reports concerning that city and Cawnpore are most gloomy; but reports in this country, and at this time, are always against us. You can have no idea of the awful weather, and of our sufferings from the heat; we sit with wet cloths over our heads; but the deaths from sun-stroke continue large; that dreadful scourge, cholera, has also broken out, and we have lost already seventy fighting-men. We buried twenty, three nights ago, at one funeral, and the shrieks of the dying were something awful; two poor ladies who were living over the hospital died, I believe, from fright. We have

* *Vide* Colonel Neill's despatches of June 14th and 17th; pp. 260—263.

now got about 400 men outside the fort; and the disease is certainly on the decline. Up to to-day we have had little to eat; indeed, I would not have fed a dog with my yesterday's breakfast; but our mess and the head-quarters arrived yesterday, and our fare was much better to-day. All the village people ran away; and any one who had worked for the Europeans these murderers killed; so if the population was to a man against us, we should stand but a bad chance. A poor baker was found with both his hands cut off, and his nose slit, because he had sent in bread to us. I need not say how anxiously we all look for a large army from England. We can hold our own well enough till it arrives; but India was never in such a mess, and it requires many a strong arm and a wise head to put it in order again. The Bengal army is to a man against us, and I am very nervous about Madras and Bombay; one single mischance, and those two armies follow. I fully expect to go on in advance with the first party to Cawnpore, so shall finish this off hastily, as we only get a few hours' notice. I have written to my poor wife, begging her to go home as quickly as she can; for I cannot bear the idea of her being in such a country at such a time, and I would give all I have to know she was on her way. We cannot leave this for the next two years at the earliest; and this mutiny might spread at any moment, so I long to hear of her being in safety."

Lieutenant R. G. Armstrong, of the 17th native infantry, writes from Allahabad on the 28th of June; and after detailing the main incidents of the outbreak on the evening of the 5th, and the slaughter of the European officers, with attendant outrages, says—"Every house in the station, with the exception of one or two, has been burnt to the ground; and when we marched on the other morning we saw Allahabad in ruins. Two days after I arrived, I went with a couple of Queen's officers, and I must say I never witnessed anything like it before; every single thing was destroyed, every pane of glass smashed; even the canvas that goes over the punkah was torn into shreds. Such a wilful destruction of property I never witnessed. A large quantity of things was found in a village close by. They were all secured; and two days ago the place was burnt by us to the ground. This is certainly, and will, from all appearance be a tedious campaign; for, besides the straits we are reduced to, the bad weather is setting in—viz., the rains. I am regularly rationed like a common soldier; get a loaf of bread, a pint of beer, a little sugar and milk, and a small piece of mutton, besides tea twice a-day; spirits and beer only once, as also the mutton, for tea is given out at night; but as several of us have been living together, we have managed to get on very fairly. Oude is now the head-quarters of the rebels. Every single regiment has mutinied, and the country will have to be taken a second time; but this time by force of arms. The brave Sir Harry Lawrence has manfully defended the residency against the insurgents; but if assistance is not rendered him and the people who have taken refuge within its walls, amounting to several hundred, they will be all starved out; for, from the last accounts, they have been obliged to feed on grain and sugar. They have next to nothing to cook it with, and no pots of any sort to cook it in. It is reported that a detachment of the 84th (the Queen's), who went over there from Cawnpore the other day, have been cut down to a man; but this has not been confirmed. There are thousands upon thousands of natives assembled there; and assistance will have to come quickly, or not a European will be saved. There is a force of 500 Europeans, and a detachment of my present corps, going over to Cawnpore, most likely, on Tuesday morning, and probably I shall go with them; at least, I hope and trust it may be my good luck to be able to. These are stirring times. They are hanging men up at Benares and here, besides several other stations—six, seven, and eight a-day. Missionaries in this country have carried matters too far; and of nothing is a native so tenacious as of interference with the rites and tenets of his religion. Education has also been carried too far. Educate a sepoy, and he becomes a thorough-paced scoundrel. These are the opinions of men who are capable of giving them."

The subjoined extract from a letter dated from Benares on the 16th of June, may close the detail of cruelty and suffering connected with the revolt at Allahabad. The writer says—"I was an eye-witness to the brutal conduct of the mutinous sepoys, and have had a narrow escape from their ruthless hands, almost miraculously; a next-door English neighbour of mine,

while living at Allahabad, was visited one night by a gang of upwards of two dozen sepoys, fully equipped with destructive arms. On the hue and cry being given, I went up the terrace of my house, and saw with my own eyes the rascals cutting into two an infant boy of two or three years of age, while playing about his mother: next they hacked into pieces the lady; and while she was crying out of agonising pains for safety, I quite involuntarily, and perfectly forgetting my own position, cried aloud, '*Kya hurta hai!*' at which the marauders threatened me with their swords; and subsequently felled, most shockingly and horridly, the husband, who was seated perfectly composed, and more like a statue than anything else. In the meantime I, and another friend of mine who was living with me, succeeded in making our escape through a back-door; and, by means of a bamboo which I picked up from a native burial-ground, managed to cross the river, and came to Benares in the garb of a fakir, not having a pice to bless me with on the way, but eked out my livelihood by begging; and at last, through the mercy of God, I reached this place in safety."

On the 14th of June, Lieutenant-colonel Simpson, who had been in command of the 6th regiment, reported to the government as follows:—"Since I had the honour of addressing you, to announce the mutiny of the late 6th regiment of native infantry on the night of the 6th instant, I have, on inquiry, ascertained that a fire of musketry issued from several of the huts occupied by invalid pensioners (who reside close in rear of the lines of the late 6th native infantry), at the officers of that corps who fell on the above night; and it is my firm belief, that the pensioners are disaffected towards the British government."*

There seems little reason to doubt, that these pensioners were as deeply implicated in the revolt, and its subsequent atrocities, as the men of the 6th regiment themselves; and their guilt is increased by the fact, that at the very moment of their traitorous outrage, they were depending upon the bounty of the government for their daily food! The conduct of the Sikh regiment of Ferozepore, and of the 3rd irregular cavalry, is inexplicable, if we would relieve them from the charge of complicity in the treason of the sepoys. They appear to have taken no part in the revolt; but neither do they seem to have made any attempt to protect the officers, to suppress the disturbance, or to assist the authorities in the fort, until after the arrival of Colonel Neill, when they could no longer remain neutral. The opinion entertained of the Sikhs by that officer, may be gathered from the way in which he relieved himself of their company as soon as he had taken command of the garrison.

On the 13th, a party of the volunteers, with some Sikhs under the command of Lieutenant Brasyer, were sent from the fort to reconnoitre, and had not proceeded far before they fell in with a force of several thousand of the rebellious troops, strongly posted near a large pukha house which they had fortified. Having ascertained the enemy's position, and exchanged a few shots, the reconnoitring party retired; and on the following day the rebel force was attacked by Colonel Neill, and dispersed with much slaughter. At this time the necessity for reinforcements and supplies became painfully obvious. An officer writes —"We sadly want supplies of all kinds here; and we must have more Europeans. I have not had my sword off for a moment, night or day, since the 6th instant. During the 13th, a Sikh soldier was murdered in the streets of the town, and the whole regiment was let loose on the place, and thoroughly avenged itself."—The same writer says—"On the 15th, at Baroul, halfway between Allahabad and Gopeegunge, three zemindars, who had set themselves up, one as rajah and the other two as naibs, were seized by a detachment of the Madras fusiliers and a party of the 13th irregular cavalry, who have done excellent service under Lieutenant Palliser, accompanied by Messrs. Moore and Chapman: they were brought into Gopeegunge, and hanged. The bridge of boats at Allahabad is in our hands, and defended by five guns."

The official details of the relief of Allahabad, appear in the following despatches from Lieutenant-colonel Neill to the deputy adjutant-general. The first of the series is dated "Allahabad, June 14th, 1857."

"Sir,—I have the honour to report my arrival here on the afternoon of the 11th inst., having left Benares on the evening of the 9th, accompanied by a party of forty-three men, and an officer of the Madras fusiliers. We found nearly all the horses taken off the road. It was with much difficulty we could get on, by coolies as-

* Parl. Papers, 1857.

sisting the horses we had, and dragging some of the dâk carriages; and had it not been for the assistance rendered by the collector and magistrate at Mirzapore, Mr. S. G. Tucker, we should have been obliged to have marched on and left our baggage. We found the country between this and Mirzapore infested with bands of plunderers, the villages deserted, and none of the authorities remaining. Major Stephenson, who left Benares the same evening with a hundred fusiliers, by bullock van, experienced the same difficulties. Many of the soldiers have been laid up in consequence of the exposure and fatigue; four have died suddenly; and on the whole, unless it were that by moving troops along the line of road protection to it is afforded, and the moral influence on the natives, I would advise, that as many of our men as possible be sent up the river by steamer.

"I found this fort almost completely invested; the bridge of boats over the Ganges in the hands of the mob in the village of Davagunge, and partly broken. I was obliged to cross over by boats, part of the small party dropping down the Ganges; the other crossing at its junction with the Jumna. On reaching this I at once assumed command, and arranged early next morning to drive the enemy out of the villages, and secure the bridge of boats over the Ganges. This was well done by a small party of the fusiliers and a party of the Sikhs, and a native officer's guard of the Sikhs placed on this end of the bridge, with an havildar's party posted on the opposite bank, thus securing our communication with the road to Benares; and Major Stephenson's detachment came in by the bridge that evening. On the afternoon of the same day, detachments of the Sikhs and the remnant of the irregular cavalry drove the enemy out of Kydgunge, the nearest village on the Jumna. On both these occasions our men behaved with much spirit, and destroyed many of the enemy.

"The destruction of property has been very great, that of the railway in particular; and I regret to say, before my arrival, the Sikhs, who are most difficult to control, had taken to plundering, had got into the godowns of some of the merchants and the steam company, and taken away large quantities of liquor, wines, and spirits; and the consequence was, I found drinking to excess among all the soldiers, Europeans, and Sikhs; the latter, in addition, supplying the former with liquor: total disorganisation would soon have ensued, and the consequence to us and the safety of the fort fatal. With some difficulty I have got all the Sikhs out of the fort; they occupy the houses and godowns of the steam companies on the Jumna; and I have either destroyed all the liquor, or what has been seized or bought from the Sikhs has been handed over to the commissariat. By this means I have checked drunkenness, and had the good fortune to get the Sikhs out of the fort, into which they shall never, with my consent, again enter. It appeared to me that the Sikhs were coaxed into loyalty; that they had become overbearing, and knew their power: and I feel assured, had not European reinforcements arrived when they did, Allahabad would not now have been ours. I am assured by the civil authorities, that we are certain of not wanting for supplies; and the steps I am taking to deal blows on the insurgents, will have the effect of inducing the well-disposed to return to their usual occupations in supplying the garrison with all that it requires. Had it not been for the unfortunate breaking open of the spirit and wine stores, I could ere this have attacked the chief rebels; but I will do so as soon as possible. The heat is also intense: no European can exist in it; and with the almost total want of dhooly-bearers, it would be madness to attempt anything I could not carry out with energy. The consequence of men falling down from sunstrokes, and the inability to carry them away, would be serious, and give these people something to boast about. As it is, I am dealing a blow every morning or evening; and although not to the extent that I would wish, consequent on the little time allowed to inflict it, yet I am doing a great deal more than the enemy like. The government may now rest assured Allahabad is safe; but it will require a garrison of 500 infantry (Europeans) at the lowest, besides artillery.

"I have no intelligence from Cawnpore, except that it is safe. Having secured this, I will push on to Cawnpore with all the European troops I can. I have twice written to Sir H. M. Wheler; by the *Coel* I hope to obtain a reply. The railroad from this to Cawnpore is closed up, and the railing being destroyed, there will be difficulties in getting there, which will

retard, but, I trust, will not prevent, me reaching that station. The telegraphic line has been destroyed between this place and Benares. I am happy to report, on more than two occasions, parties injuring the wires between eight and ten miles from this, were fired upon, and loss inflicted by Major Stephenson. Lieutenant Beaumont's detachments I have sent out to endeavour to repair the damage, and I hope it will be effected. I have now 270 fusiliers, in high heart and spirit, but suffering from the intense heat. A fall of rain, on the setting-in of the monsoon, would enable me to act with vigour, and scatter the mob of ruffians now about us.

"There is no engineer officer here—there ought to be; and one should be sent sharp. The Sikhs have been running in and out like cats; I have blocked up some of their ways, but there are too many small sally-ports; and I wish it to be properly guarded by a weak garrison. The commissariat officer is also away, but his place is well supplied; these departments ought to be complete and most efficient here. It is my intention to send out parties of the Sikhs to chastise some of the zemindars near this, who have behaved infamously; I hope to carry this out; although our Sikh privates complain that the matchlock carries further than their musket, &c., the love of plunder will, I doubt not, remove their doubts on this subject. Their commandant, Captain Brasyer, appears to have some influence over them, and exerts it boldly and with discretion; but they are difficult men to manage. The formation of our movements and intentions of attack have been obtained from within this by spies; the arsenal native detachment, composed of Mohammedans, are, I believe, false; the head man has joined the insurgents; and I believe, from my own inquiry, I have detected another giving information; he is for trial, and, found guilty, will be made an example of.

"In conclusion, I again beg to assure the government, that Allahabad is at present safe; and that every day will enable us to do something, even with limited means and unfavourable season against us; but we shall succeed, and I hope my next will give a better account of our position, and that an effectual blow has been struck against the chiefs of the insurgents' line.

"I have, &c.—J. G. NEILL,

"Lieut.-colonel commanding at Allahabad."

The second despatch is dated "Allahabad, June 17th, 1857."

"I last did myself the honour of addressing you on the 14th instant, and although unable to move out in force to attack the insurgents, yet on the 15th I sent a party by steam up the Jumna, which, although consisting of only twenty fusiliers with the Enfields, and a howitzer, under command of Captain Hammond, of the artillery, inflicted severe damage on the village of Derryabad, and others in its neighbourhood; at the same time the Sikhs, under Captain Brasyer, supported by a party of fifty fusiliers commanded by Lieutenant Bailey, of that corps, after the villages of Kydgunge and Moahgunge had been shelled from the fort, attacked these villages, and drove the enemy out into the city; the Sikhs followed up beyond Derryabad, and only halted when their ammunition was nearly expended. All behaved with great gallantry. The fusiliers were strongly opposed, a great portion of the insurgents appearing to be sepoys. They lost two soldiers killed, Lieutenant Bailey and six men wounded—one soldier dangerously, the others seriously. The Sikhs have only three wounded. The enemy were very severely handled, and their ammunition must be nearly expended, from their firing pieces of telegraphic wire instead of lead. Yesterday morning I had arranged to send a party by steamer up the Ganges, to the cattle-farm at Passamow, and endeavour to get in some of our bullocks. The steamer could not get so far; but early in the morning intelligence was sent into our outposts that the insurgents had, consequent on the attacks made on them, broken up, abandoned their position in the city, and that the Moulvie had fled. The two guns which had been taken away the night of the mutiny were also sent back, as well as Ensign Cheek, with the 6th, and Mr. Conductor Coleman and family, who had escaped being murdered on the night of the mutiny, and had been in confinement ever since. Some Christian children have also been sent in. Having procured bullocks and the means of moving out, I shall do so as soon as I possibly can, and in one day, from all quarters, attack and completely destroy all the villages close to and forming the suburbs of the city, which have been inhabited by all the worst of the insurgents. After having done so, and made a severe example, I intend laying the city under the

heaviest possible contribution, to save it from destruction also. The majority of the chief merchants and others have shown the worst spirit towards us; many of them have taken a most active part against us. I intend to make the most severe example of all such. I anticipate the best results from our success in the neighbourhood. I have embodied a small corps (about thirty men) of European cavalry, from the gentlemen of the railway, engineers, &c., who have horses of their own. These, with the few sowars who have remained faithful to us, will, I feel assured, be of great service in enabling me to strike a few blows against the zemindars and parties of insurgents I cannot otherwise reach. The steamer *Coel* arrived yesterday with Captain Harris's detachment of fusiliers of four officers and 104 men. As soon as a sufficient number of Europeans arrive, I shall push on as large a body of fusiliers to Cawnpore as I can; but almost fear it will be impossible until a shower or two of rain falls. The heat here is fearful; all are suffering from its effects. When cooler weather sets in, after a little rain, I will make the attempt, and I doubt not, if it is to be done, with success. I will also endeavour to send up men by steamer when the river rises. However, of this feel assured, I will push on troops to Cawnpore with the utmost dispatch. I shall take steps, when the troops move out, to have the state of the railway terminus, &c., ascertained; I am in hopes it may be soon opened again. I have not allowed any of the people, Europeans attached to it, or the public works, to leave, except such as have been recommended by the heads of departments; my object being to have any available man on the spot to set to work and repair the damage done, and collect materials taken away or scattered about, immediately the insurgents are entirely dispersed, and the country in some degree of order; but I have deemed it advisable to urge all women and children being sent down country to a place of security, and have ordered passages at the public expense for such. They are all the wives, children, widows, or orphans of persons (several ladies and gentlemen) who have been plundered of all they had, and barely escaped with their lives. I sent down by the first steamer, on the 15th instant, seven men, seventeen women, and twenty children; and by the steamer to-day ten men, thirty-three women, and twenty-six children. The men sent are to defend the others, the crews of the steamers —Mohammedans—being suspected. With the first party I sent Major Cary, of the 6th, in charge. It has been a great object getting rid of so many women and children out of this crowded fort, in a state of great filth now, from the sweeper and that class having fled, or being prevented coming in by the insurgents.

"Yesterday evening I hanged three men; one a Mohammedan, who held office under the Moulvie; the other, a Hindoo of substance, also deeply concerned in the insurrection; both caught to-day setting parties to plunder the houses of influential people who have been faithful to us. The third was a sepoy of the 6th, with the corps when it mutinied. I have to visit with justice many others equally deserving, to-day and to-morrow. I expect a great improvement in our means and comfort; the bazaar people, servants, and others, will now flock back to their employments. Many sepoys from Delhi were here yesterday, and took an active part against us. Conductor Coleman, when prisoner, recognised many. The fusiliers now have eleven officers and 360 men here.

"P.S.—I have written to Colonel Potts, at Mirzapore, not to encourage his sepoys drawing out from the treasury any more of their savings; having such a hold upon them will, I trust, keep that regiment right."

The third despatch, from Lieutenant-colonel Neill to the deputy adjutant-general, is dated "Allahabad, June 17th, 1857."

"Sir,—I have the honour to report my arrival here on the afternoon of the 11th instant, with a party of forty men, the fusiliers having had more difficulty in getting on from Benares, consequent on the disturbed state of the country, the road being partly deserted, and all the dâk horses taken away by the insurgents. I found Allahabad closely invested, except on the river side, it being only approachable from the rivers; the bridge of boats on the Ganges partly destroyed; it, and the village of Deeragunge, in possession of the insurgents. On arriving at the end of the Benares-road, at the village of Jansee, I was obliged to move down to my left; was fortunate to bribe some natives to bring a boat over to the left bank of the Ganges, in which I embarked part of my men; the

people in the fort, having by this time seen us, sent over boats some way down; by these means we all got into the fort, almost completely exhausted from an over-long night march and the intense heat. On assuming command, I at once determined to drive the enemy away and open up some communication with the country; on the following morning I opened fire with several round shots, on those parts of Deeragunge occupied by the worst description of natives, attacked the place with detachments of fusiliers and Sikhs, drove the enemy out with considerable loss, burnt part of the village, and took possession of a repaired bridge, placing a company of Sikhs at its head for its protection. The next day Major Stephenson's detachment of one hundred men, which had left Benares by bullock-train the same evening I had, crossed the bridge into the front. On the morning of the 13th, I attacked the insurgents in the village of Kydgunge, on the left bank of the Jumna, and drove them out with loss. On the 14th, I could do little or nothing. Ever since I arrived here, I have observed great drinking among the Sikhs, and the Europeans of all classes; and it was not long before I learnt that large godowns, belonging to merchants and river steam companies, had been broken into and plundered, and the contents were distributed all over the place; quantities of all kinds of spirits and wine were brought into the fort by the Sikhs, and sold to our soldiers at the lowest prices;* the consequence was drunkenness to a disgraceful extent in the garrison. The Sikhs showed anything but a subordinate spirit, and, being in the same range of barracks with our men, caused me no small anxiety. I endeavoured to get hold of or destroy all the liquor and rum, and succeeded in both by directing the commissariat to purchase all the liquor the Sikhs had to sell; I sent out the only two carts I had to empty what remained in the godowns into the commissariat stores, and destroyed all that I could otherwise lay hold of. It appeared to me most desirable to get the Sikhs out of the fort; they were very loth to go, and their officers did not appear to me to have that authority over them to oblige them; it required some tact and management, and was happily effected by Captain Brasyer, who deserved the greatest credit; they are now outside in some houses, and in the old native hospital; and others on the bank of the Jumna, under the guns of the fort; and, although attacked and obliged to retire on the night of the 14th instant, with some, including the adjutant, wounded, yet they soon regained their position. I felt that Allahabad was really safe when every native soldier and sentry was out of it; and as long as I command I shall not allow one to be on duty in it. On the evening of the 14th, I threw a shell from a howitzer on the brutes, into Kydgunge, and early on the morning of the 15th opened the same fire with round shot also upon it at daylight. I sent a steamer up the Jumna with a howitzer, under command of Captain Harwood, of the artillery, and a party of twenty picked shots of the fusiliers, under Lieutenant Arnold of that corps, who went up the river, some distance above the city, and did much execution. The Sikhs were directed to attack and clear Kydgunge and Mootingunge, on the Jumna, and were supported on the right by fifty of the fusiliers, under Lieutenant Bailey, and the small party of irregular cavalry. The troops behaved with great gallantry and spirit in the heat of the sun; the Sikhs had the legs of the European, and the country they had to go over was less difficult; the opposition they met with was not so great; they, however, punished the enemy severely, although they fire badly, and are very wild. The fusiliers met with some resistance; did good execution among the enemy, but had two men killed and six wounded—all severely, one dangerously, including Lieutenant Bailey, shot through the thigh. The insurgents were so thoroughly beaten at all points, and our men had followed them up so close to the city, that we have since been informed the greatest terror seized them, and they all fled from the city during the night. They had also lost several of their chiefs; and the Moulvie, the chief of the insurrection, is now, I understand, with a few followers, about fourteen miles off. There are still some villages in the neighbourhood inhabited by Mohammedan tawnties—who took a prominent and active part on the night of the mutiny—I will make an example of; but I cannot march out until I get sufficient cattle for my artillery, and also to draw carriages to convey wounded or men knocked over by the sun. Many sepoys supposed to be from Delhi, fought against us. We have had intelligence from the

* Four annas the bottle, all round—beer, brandy, and wines of all kinds, including champagne.

city of the dispersion and flight of most of the ringleaders. The Moulvie has fled, and two of his men of rank were slain on the 15th. Our two guns, taken away from the bridge of boats by the 6th, were sent in to our outposts yesterday morning; also, Mr. Cheek, of the 6th, since dead, and Mr. Conductor Coleman and his family, who escaped the night of the mutiny, although severely wounded and badly treated. The troops are in high spirits and as good health as can be expected this fearful weather. The fusiliers have endured more exposure and fatigue than most soldiers; their conduct has been admirable. I cannot speak too highly of Captain Brasyer of the Sikhs; he alone has kept that regiment together, and all right here; he deserves the greatest credit; he assisted me very greatly indeed in getting the Sikhs out of the fort. I almost feared at one time that force would have to be employed; it was a very near thing indeed; fortunately I was able to employ the Sikhs in the constant attacks, which assisted. The fusiliers now here consist of eleven officers and 360 men.—I have, &c.—J. G. Neill,

"Lieut.-colonel, commanding Allahabad."

A fourth despatch, from Lieutenant-colonel Neill, is dated "Allahabad, June 19th, 1857."

"I last did myself the honour of addressing you on the 17th instant. On the following morning I moved out with all my force, having the previous day obtained bullocks for my two guns. I sent one party of eighty fusiliers and a hundred Sikhs in the steamer with a howitzer, up the river, to attack and destroy the Pathan village of Derryabad and the Mewattie villages of Sydabad and Russelpore, and to co-operate with me. I marched from cantonments with 200 fusiliers, two guns, all the Sikhs and irregular cavalry, and proceeded as far as the gaol, thus getting between the city and the villages belonging to, and said to be occupied by, the insurgents. I met with no opposition, the enemy, I regret to say, having disappeared during the night; I swept and destroyed these villages, and collected all my force on the parade-ground of the 6th Bengal native infantry. It was my intention to have occupied the church and other buildings during the heat of the day; but as symptoms of cholera amongst the fusiliers had occurred during the night, one man having been taken ill *en route*, I determined to return to the fort with all the Europeans, and leave Captain Brasyer and his Sikhs, with the irregular cavalry, accompanied by Mr. Court (collector and magistrate), to destroy several villages beyond the church; which work was properly done. I got back to the fort about 7 A.M., and regret to say, that several of the men came into hospital with cholera in its worst form. Eight men were buried last evening, and twenty this evening; there are still many cases in hospital, but of a milder nature; and I hope, with God's blessing, for the best.

"I had before this, fearing disease from the crowded state in which I found the fort, sent off two steamer loads of women and children; and as the cantonment is now safe, I directed all the non-combatants out of the fort: this order has been attended to. I have also established a European hospital in a Masonic building, a short distance from the fort, to which I have removed all cholera patients. I have also occupied the dâk bungalow near it, with a subaltern's party for its protection; a hundred Europeans are in tents on the glacis, and I move out 200 to-morrow to a tope of trees, near the dâk bungalow. No rain has yet fallen; the heat is intense, and the soldiers, after their hard work and exposure, are much prostrated. The barracks here are in bad order, followers of any description being almost unprocurable; there are but few punkahs and no tatties; the men have, therefore, not the proper advantages of barrack accommodation for this hot season. I regret to add, that the supply of medicines here has failed; there appears to have been little or none kept in Allahabad, and our detachments only brought up sufficient for the march.

"I am now in expectation of the arrival of the *Mirzapore*, which was also detained by the same authorities, and which, I hope, has some little medicine on board. At the same time, I have also to complain of the civil authorities at Ghazeepore presuming to keep back and not delivering to the officer commanding troops on board the *Mirzapore*, in Calcutta, written orders I sent through them, for the removal of the treasure, at that station, on board the steamer, to be brought by the Europeans to Benares.

"Two hundred bullocks with drivers were brought in here yesterday; this is all our public carriage at present; our commissariat officer is away, and that de-

partment is, in consequence, inefficient. I am prevented, therefore, from pushing on, as I wish, troops to Cawnpore; his excellency may feel assured that I will do so as soon as I possibly can. I, however, apprehend that nothing can be done until we have had a shower of rain. A detachment of the 84th Queen's may be in to-morrow; I shall place them in the church; and the other European troops, as they arrive, in other buildings in the cantonment. I beg to inclose Captain Fraser's report of his march from Benares to this place; much good service has been done by so thoroughly opening the road; the men of the detachment acquitted themselves in their usual soldierlike and enduring manner, and I beg to bring to the notice of his excellency, Captain Fraser, an intelligent and energetic officer, in whom I have the utmost confidence in any emergency. I am organising a body of irregular cavalry, by joining Captain Palliser's detachment of the 13th irregular cavalry with the few men of Captain Alexander's corps still remaining faithful to us, and expect to entertain some sowars. I have established a system of patrolling in the neighbourhood with the troopers, to encourage the people to bring in supplies.

"The Moulvie has left this with about 3,000 followers; his destination is unknown, but supposed to be Lucknow, or in this neighbourhood. I have arranged to beat up his camp if it is."

The following is the inclosure of Captain Fraser, dated "Allahabad, June 19th, 1857."

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that, agreeably to instructions received from the officer commanding Benares, a detachment of Madras fusiliers (strength as per margin*), under my command, marched on June 13th, 1857, from Benares, for the purpose of acting against the marauders and disturbers of the peace, and with the view of opening the communication along the road to Allahabad, which for some time had been interrupted. Mr. Chapman, a gentleman well acquainted with the country, accompanied the party. At Gopeegunge, a detachment of the 13th irregular cavalry, of eighty men, under the command of Lieutenant Palliser, joined the expedition.

"On the 14th instant, information having been received on oath that the inhabitants of two villages within a mile of the Grand Trunk-road, near Gopeegunge, had been plundering the grain and stopping the communication, I proceeded with a party of the fusiliers to the said villages, and called upon the principals to appear; but they had made their escape, and I ordered their houses to be burned.

"On the 15th instant, intelligence having been received that three zemindars, who had proclaimed themselves rajahs, and had been plundering, were then in a village about three miles from Gopeegunge, fifty men of the 13th irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Palliser, proceeded to the village, accompanied by Mr. Chapman and Mr. Moore, of the civil service, who joined our party from Mirzapore. They succeeded in capturing the zemindars, and bringing them into camp, where they were tried immediately by court-martial, and hanged by eight o'clock the same evening.

"At midnight the detachment marched for Baroad, where we arrived at daybreak on the 16th, when I immediately proceeded, with a party of a hundred men of the Madras fusiliers, and the whole of the irregular cavalry, to apprehend, if possible, a man named Belour Sing, who, with 1,200 followers, was reported to be in a village about five miles from the Grand Trunk-road, and had been plundering the neighbouring villages. On arriving at the village named Dobaar, I found it deserted, and everything carried off, with the exception of some grain and a small quantity of gunpowder. I ordered Belour Sing's house and village to be burned, and a reward of 200 rupees was offered by Mr. Chapman for his capture. On the evening of the 16th instant, a zemindar came to the camp, accompanied by a duffadar, who was in command of twelve sepoys, who formed a guard over some government treasure in a village about a mile off the road, half-way between Baroad and Sydabad. Mr. Chapman and myself arranged that the detachment should be halted at the nearest point on the road on our march to Sydabad, and a party proceeded to the village to recover the treasure. About 1 A.M. on the 17th, Mr. Chapman and myself, with twenty-five men of the fusiliers, went to this village and carried off the treasure, which was said to amount to 12,000 rupees, and had been defended by the sepoy guard in charge of it, although the village had been attacked by Dacoits and burned. The treasure was

* One captain, four lieutenants, one second lieutenant, one assistant surgeon, and 150 native infantry, rank and file.

brought into Allahabad, escorted by half the sepoy guard, the remainder of the guard having been left to protect the village. The treasure was handed over on arrival here to Mr. Court, and I think that the sepoys are fairly entitled to some remuneration from government for having protected the treasure. The punishment inflicted on the three zemindars at Gopeegunge, and it being known that the detachment was able to march against and punish marauders at considerable distances from the high road, had the effect of intimidating those who had been plundering; and when the detachment was at Baroad, twenty-three government bullocks made their appearance, evidently brought to the neighbourhood of the camp by the people who had carried them off, but had become afraid to retain them. When the detachment was at Sydabad, more bullocks and horses were brought back in the same way.

"On arriving at Sydabad on the morning of the 17th instant, a party of the irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Palliser, proceeded to a village about three miles off, in which it was reported certain people resided who had plundered the dâk bungalow, and carried off the government bullocks from Sydabad. Lieutenant Palliser's party secured several prisoners, who were brought into camp and tried by court-martial. A party of the fusiliers proceeded to another village belonging to the same people, but it was found deserted, and I ordered it to be burned. A few government bullocks were recovered. Two villages were burned by the irregular cavalry.

"On the morning of the 18th of June, the detachment arrived at Allahabad. I found the road clear the whole way, and am of opinion that any party of European troops, however small, may now travel the road with safety; but to keep the dâk open, I believe it is necessary, in the meantime, to establish a post of Europeans at Gopeegunge, and another half-way between that place and Allahabad; and Colonel Gordon, commanding Benares, has, I understand, ordered this to be done. It is impossible to speak too highly of Mr. Chapman's services; and I am convinced that the measures adopted by him as magistrate at the different places we passed through, if carried out by the police authorities, will have the effect of keeping the road perfectly quiet in future.

"The conduct of the fusiliers on the march was most praiseworthy in every respect. The irregular cavalry gave me every satisfaction, and I requested Lieutenant Palliser to convey my thanks to his men for their services.

"Dâk letters, I understand, arrived last night from Benares for the first time, and I trust that there will be no further interruption on this line.—I am, &c.,

"J. G. FRASER, Captain,

"Commanding Madras Fusiliers."

A fifth report from Colonel Neill, of June 19th, 1857, is as follows:—

"I last addressed you on the 17th instant. On the following morning I moved out of the fort with all my disposable European infantry fusiliers, two guns (for which I had obtained bullocks on the previous day), all the Sikhs, and the irregular cavalry, with the twenty mounted volunteers. I also sent a party up the Jumna (80 European infantry, and 100 Sikhs, with one howitzer), to co-operate from the river, and to land and destroy the Pathan village of Derryabad, and the Mewattie ones of Sydabad and Russelpore, the inhabitants of which have been most active in the insurrection. We found, on arriving at daylight at the gaol, that all the houses and villages there were nearly abandoned: we met with no opposition worth mentioning; the few armed men who were seen fled on our approach. All the houses and villages belonging to the insurgents were destroyed; and the force met on the parade-ground of the 6th native infantry a little after 6 A.M. As symptoms of cholera had appeared among the fusiliers during the night, and one man was taken ill whilst we were out, I abandoned my original intention of occupying the church and some of the large houses during the heat of the day, and determined to leave the destruction of other villages beyond the church to Captain Brasyer (of the Sikhs) and the cavalry, and moved my men back to the fort, which I reached about 7 A.M. Before leaving, I had sent with Mr. Court, to be continually in the city, a party of Sikhs, and we then re-established our authority. All those concerned in the mutiny and its results, are now expelled from the city; the Moulvie is said to have gone off towards Lucknow with 2,000 or 3,000 Mewatties. Shortly after my arrival in the fort, Captain Fraser's detachment of the fusiliers (147 men) came in; they have well executed the duty imposed on them by the officer commanding Benares, and have effectually cleared

the road as far as this, which is kept open and secure by the detachment of her majesty's 84th, posted on to Gopeegunge, half-way near this. I again sent off the telegraphic people to mend the wire broken near this, and hope they have been able to do so. The cholera, I regret to say, has attacked my men most severely; three men were buried last evening, and nineteen this evening. I immediately set to work to clear the fort of all the non-military; they are all gone outside into the cantonment: such of the railway people as are of no use here, I have, at the request of the officials in charge here, ordered passage for to Calcutta by the steamer that sails to-morrow. I have taken possession of the Masonic Lodge near this, in the cantonment, as a hospital, and moved out all the cholera patients. I have occupied the dâk bungalow with fusiliers, and encamped a hundred of them on the glacis, and shall move out more to-morrow; but there is no rain yet, and the heat is so fearful we are sadly put to it; I trust, however, we shall all manfully submit, and I trust, with God's blessing, to a change. I cannot, however, at present do anything, even if I had the means of moving towards Cawnpore; but as there are 200 bullocks with drivers here, and more carriage, and other means will come in at our disposal, I shall move a force on there as soon as I can I expect a detachment of her majesty's 84th in soon; they will be quartered in the cantonment: I shall occupy the church and other proper buildings.

"We are most hardly pressed for medicine; the supply here, which was little or none, is expended; my detachments had only sufficient for use on the march. I hope no time will be lost in sending up here an efficient commissariat department; such should be here. We are most badly off here in that respect; and the want of bread, &c., for the Europeans, may no doubt increase the disease. I have written to Benares, to send the commissariat officer of that station up here, but his whereabouts is not known; I hear he is an excellent officer, and were he here I think we should be better off. All are thoroughly prostrated by the heat; no tatties, and few if any punkahs; and the men have undergone much exposure and hard work. I beg to notice most favourably the energy and decision of Captain Fraser of the fusiliers, lately come up, as also that of our acting magistrate, Mr. Chapman from Benares."

On the 20th of June, Lieutenant-colonel Neill transmitted the following information, by telegraph, to the secretary to the government at Calcutta:—"Allahabad, June 20th, 12.10 P.M.—The insurgents have been completely driven away from this. Communications with Benares open. The Moulvie gone towards Lucknow. Fusiliers severely attacked with cholera early on morning of the 18th instant; 100 cases; forty deaths from cholera, ten from sun-stroke; health now improving; moved position, and established hospitals outside the fort; no rain; heat terrible; 490 fusiliers of all ranks now here; remainder on their way up by steamer; 100 of the 84th arrived this morning; more coming on; road to Cawnpore closed up country; arranging to push on troops towards Cawnpore, and open up communication, but impeded by Allahabad; supplies on the road; will persevere to the utmost."

During the evening of the 21st, and morning of the 22nd, the whole of the fusiliers, and the head-quarters of the 84th Europeans, arrived in the steamers *Calcutta* and *Mirzapore*, and 400 of them were immediately placed under orders for Cawnpore, the intelligence from whence had given cause for much apprehension for the safety of that garrison.

On the 22nd, Colonel Neill reported by the telegraph that the cholera was decreasing, only one fresh case and two deaths having occurred since sunset of the 21st. He then says—"Head-quarters 84th arrived by steamer *Calcutta* yesterday evening; Colonel Reid returns sick, and did not land. *Mirzapore*, with 234 men and six officers of the fusiliers, arrived this morning; all well. Davidson, of commissariat, arrived; now hope to get something done. Endeavouring to equip with carriage and provisions 400 Europeans to push on towards Cawnpore. The railway reported as little injured, and believed by the officers to be in good working order as far as Tolundu. The locomotives entirely destroyed, but thirty vans are uninjured; will use them on railway with bullocks or coolies. The country towards Cawnpore, within twenty miles of this, deserted, but people returning; no intelligence I can depend on received from Cawnpore; have sent several messages, but no answer; great scarcity of medicine here and at Benares."

On the 22nd of the month commissions were issued for the examination and punishment of persons concerned in the disturbances, and the same day the Allahabad commissioner hanged the city moonsiff, and an opulent merchant, named Ram Lall Molly. Three other persons had been convicted, and were to be hanged on the following day, and many more were in confinement awaiting trial.

At this time it had become apparent, that some strenuous exertions were really necessary in the direction of Cawnpore; but the desire of Lieutenant-colonel Neill to move in that direction, was frustrated by the total insufficiency of the means of conveyance at his disposal. His incessant applications for dhoolies for the conveyance of his troops, were, as a matter of course, referred to the heads of departments, and by them to their subordinates; and, as is usual in all matters in which official routine has to be observed, much valuable time was lost in communications between the lieutenant-colonel and the secretary to the government; the town major at Fort William; the garrison engineer; the deputy adjutant-general; the commander-in-chief in Bengal; the deputy secretary to the government, and the military board! But, at length, all official difficulties and delays were surmounted, and the dhoolies were ordered to be prepared; but, in the meantime, the garrison at Cawnpore had been gradually reduced to extremities for want of reinforcements and supplies.

On the 28th of June, the lieutenant-colonel was enabled to announce his intention to move, on the 30th, the relief called for by the hazardous state of Cawnpore; and that Major Renaud, of the Madras fusiliers, in whom he had the utmost confidence, would take the command of the column. On the 30th, he reported to the governor-general in council, that 500 or 600 men were urgently required at Cawnpore, and that his column was then starting. He says by this message—"It (the column) was delayed on account of want of lascars and bearers; I have now received the former, and will do without the latter. Havelock has arrived, and will have equipment for two European regiments by the 4th, if the lascars do not again fail."*

PERSHADEEPORE.—Before closing the chapter thus devoted to the occurrences at Allahabad during the month of June, it will be necessary to refer to a communication from Captain R. L. Thompson, commanding the late 1st regiment of Oude irregular infantry, announcing the mutiny and dispersion of that regiment after plundering the treasury, and his arrival with one jemadar, one havildar, and six sepoys—the wreck of his corps—at Allahabad. This gentleman writes, on the 25th of June, to the secretary to the government, as follows:—

"I have the honour to report, for the information of government, that the 1st regiment Oude irregular infantry, lately under my command, mutinied at Pershadeepore (Oude) on the 10th instant. The conduct of the regiment up to the 9th instant continued to be most exemplary, notwithstanding the trials to which they had been put by the false accounts of their friends and relations from different disbanded and mutinous corps. They made use of their cartridges, and ridiculed the idea of their being anything to be objected to in their composition; and on the occasion of some evil-disposed person having caused bones to be placed in the attah sold in the Suddur Bazaar, they showed no excitement, but said they had perfect confidence in the good faith of their officers. Matters went on thus smoothly until the 9th instant, on which date a troop of the 3rd irregular cavalry arrived from Pertanagurh. On the afternoon of that day, a sowar, pretending to have escaped from a party of mutinous troops, galloped into the station, and reported that an irregular cavalry regiment, a wing of an infantry regiment, and two guns, were within two miles; and at the same time a report arrived from the direction of Sultanpore, to the effect that the mutinous troops from that station were all advancing to attack us.

"On the receipt of the above intelligence, I immediately paraded my regiment, and detached a duffadar's party to ascertain the truth of the matter. They returned in a short time, saying that the story was altogether false. I accordingly turned my men in again, and after some time returned to my bungalow. In the evening, the native officers urged the European officers to keep in the lines, where, in case of an attack, they would be safer than in their bungalows; and their request was complied with. The next morning, I found the whole of the men dressed and accoutred, which caused me to suspect that all was not right; and on asking the native officers what was the

* Parl. Papers, 1857.

matter, I was informed that the regiment had mutinied. I shortly after heard that Captain Barrow, the deputy commissioner of Salme, was aware of the mutiny, and had decided on leaving the station.

"I was anxious, if possible, to save the good men of the corps, of whom there were very many, and suggested that they should separate themselves from the bad men, and march, with the European officers and colours, into Allahabad. After a short time had elapsed, the native officers came to me, and said that the treasure must at any rate be abandoned, and would then be plundered; the men therefore hoped that I would give them each six months' pay, and they would march with the European officers to any neighbouring station. This proposal was agreed to, and the money disbursed; but I regret to say that, at the last moment, the temptation of the remainder of the treasure was too great, and it was evident the men had no intention of fulfilling their engagement.

"When I discovered that the mutiny was complete, I proceeded to Captain Barrow's house, and arranged to leave with all the other Europeans at 4 P.M.; but before leaving I went to the lines of the regiment, called upon all men who wished it to accompany me, and directed them to assemble on the road for that purpose. I then returned to Captain Barrow's house, and the whole of the European residents started, passing through the centre street of the lines, and in front of the quarter-guard. The men were all assembled, with their arms loaded; but no threatening words or gestures were used. On getting clear of the station, our party was escorted by Rajah Hunnewaut Sing (Talookdar) and his followers to the fort of Dharoopoor, where we were treated with every consideration; and on receipt of satisfactory accounts from Allahabad, we were safely brought into that station on the 22nd instant by the rajah in person.

"I beg to state that, up to the 9th instant, the regiment was as well conducted as could be wished; but it appears that the sowars above alluded to, and those of the 15th regiment (irregular cavalry), which had mutinied at Sultanpore, represented to them, on the night of that date, that if they remained faithful they would be overpowered by the corps that had mutinied in the surrounding stations. These representations, added to the false reports spread by men of the 37th, 45th, and 57th regiments of native infantry—that they had, in the first place, been disarmed and then fired upon by the European troops—brought about the ruin of the regiment, which had always been remarkable for good conduct. Had there been only a small sum in the treasury, the mutiny would probably never have occurred. The quiet conduct of the men throughout, shows that they had no cause of dissatisfaction; indeed, it is owing to the personal attachment of the men to their officers, that the whole of the Europeans in the station were allowed to leave without molestation from the troops. Fifty or sixty joined our party on leaving the station; but their numbers gradually decreased, and only one jemadar, one havildar, and six sepoys accompanied us into Allahabad. The proper channel of communication being now closed, I take upon myself to send this report direct.—I have, &c.,

"R. L. THOMPSON, Captain,
"Commanding late 1st Regt. Oude Infantry."

The above report was forwarded to the government by Lieutenant-colonel Neill, with the subjoined remarks endorsed upon it.

"Captain Thompson's statement ought to be taken with caution. He, likewise, believed his men to have been faithful to the last, and only carried away at the last moment by false reports, and the dread of being coerced by the other mutineers. This is absurd: they were as deeply in the plot as the rest of the army; the only credit due to them is, that they did not murder their officers.

"J. G. NEILL, Lieutenant-colonel,
"Commanding at Allahabad."

The gallant Neill was not one to be deceived by appearances, or to suffer himself to be lulled into a false security by plausible representations: few men appear to have been better adapted to the crisis, or more competent to manage the unruly elements in agitation throughout India, than was this lamented officer.

The only peculiarity in the affair at Pershadeepore, consists in the entire abstinence of the troops from that ferocious craving for European blood that had characterised every other rebellious movement of the native soldiers. The 1st regiment of Oude irregular infantry certainly stands almost alone for its humanity, though it may not be entitled to much consideration on the score of its loyalty or honesty.

In concluding this portion of the Indian mutiny, so far as events connected with its progress at Allahabad, during the month of June, were concerned, it may be well to remember that when the insurrection broke forth at Delhi, Allahabad, like that city, was without a single European soldier within its garrison, if we except the few officers attached to the native regiments. It possessed a valuable arsenal, and a fort, situated in a position of the greatest possible military value and importance. It is true, when the revolt had broken out, efforts were made in Calcutta to forward troops without delay, to meet the pressing exigencies of Benares, Allahabad, and Cawnpore; but, as the first reinforcements of Europeans arrived at the former place, they were sent forward by the commissioner to supply the supposed yet greater need of Cawnpore; and at length about 300 European troops arrived there. Allahabad, supposed to be yet strong in the ostentatiously paraded loyalty of the 6th native regiment, had also for its protection about 400 men of a Sikh regiment from Ferozepore, and some irregular cavalry of Oude. Of the hollow ground upon which its safety rested, we have ample proof in the detestable treachery of the 6th, and the unfaithfulness of the sowars. But for the opportune arrival of Colonel Neill, and the promptitude and determination of Lieutenant Brasyer of the Sikh regiment, there is little doubt but the garrison and residents in the fort would have been sacrificed to the insane vengeance of the mutinous sepoys. By the energy of this subaltern officer, the volunteers in the fort were assembled, armed with rifles and revolvers. The order was given to the guard to pile arms; the sepoys hesitated; two guns which were in readiness were pointed at them, and then, at the most critical moment, the Sikhs, distracted and excited by the firing outside the fort, faltered, and their ranks wavered! But Brasyer stood firm; the order to fire was upon his lips, when, providentially, two or three of the sepoys threw down their arms, and the Sikhs, instantly recovering themselves, began at once to disarm and strip the remainder of the guard. The crisis occupied but a few minutes; but at that crisis Allahabad was saved!

Had ill success befallen Lieutenant Brasyer at this eventful moment, the result to government would have been most calamitous. The fort at Allahabad, in the hands of the 6th regiment, would have become the rendezvous and stronghold of all the revolted troops in that part of India, and its subjugation would have been the necessary, but very difficult and hazardous, preliminary to any further operations in the Doab. Its preservation was, in fact, a most important and providential triumph for our arms; and, at the time, tended more than anything else to diffuse alarm, and a sense of insecurity, among the disaffected populations of the surrounding districts; while it also formed the basis on which to construct further measures for the progressive restoration of European ascendancy throughout India.

CHAPTER XV.

THE JHANSIE MUTINY; SEIZURE OF THE STAR FORT BY THE 12TH NATIVE INFANTRY; APPEAL TO THE LOYALTY OF THE REGIMENT; PROTESTATIONS OF FIDELITY AND ATTACHMENT; MURDER OF CAPTAIN DUNLOP; THE EUROPEANS RETIRE TO THE TOWN FORT; DEATH OF CAPTAIN GORDON; THE FORT SURROUNDED BY MUTINEERS; UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE; OFFERS OF PROTECTION ON SURRENDER; THE EUROPEANS LEAVE THE FORT, AND ARE MASSACRED; OFFICIAL LIST OF VICTIMS; MUTINY AT NOWGONG; ESCAPE OF THE OFFICERS AND EUROPEAN FAMILIES; PERILS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE FUGITIVES; NARRATIVE OF AN OFFICER; EXPERIENCE OF SERGEANT KIRCHOFF; OFFICIAL REPORT OF CAPTAIN SCOTT.

Following a chronological succession of the mutinous outbreaks it is the object of these pages to record, attention must now be directed to circumstances connected with the mutiny and massacre consummated at Jhansie, a town and military station of Bundlecund, in Central India, situate about 129 miles south-west of the city of Agra.

The atrocities wantonly perpetrated at this place, have scarcely been exceeded in heartless brutality by the crimes of the rebellious soldiers in other localities ravaged by their indiscriminating vengeance.

Of the outbreak at Jhansie, the details available for history are more copious than might have been expected, under the circumstances of a blow so complete and unsparing as that which, on the 8th of June, 1857, crimsoned the annals of the town with the blood of helpless and unoffending women and children.

For some time prior to the outbreak, the left wing of the 12th regiment of native infantry, and that of the 14th irregular cavalry, had been stationed at Jhansie, where there were two forts—one in the town itself; the other, called the "Star Fort," being in the cantonments. Some unpleasant indications of the existence of a bad feeling among the native troops had, in the latter part of May, awakened suspicion that their fidelity could not be depended on; and Captain Dunlop, in command at the station, transmitted to Major Kirke, then with the head-quarters of the regiment at Nowgong, some letters that had come to the hands of Major Skene, superintendent of the district, and Captain Gordon, deputy commissioner of Jhansie; in which it was alleged that a Brahmin, named Lacknum Rao, in the service of the ranee of Jhansie, was using strenuous efforts to induce the men of the 12th regiment to mutiny and destroy their officers; and that although the fact was suspected, it was not at that time certain that the emissary of revolt was acting under the orders of the ranee. Other letters, from the same source of information, informed Captain Dunlop, that spies from the revolted regiments, and from the known leaders of the movement, found no difficulty in entering his lines and tampering with the men. Up to this time, no apparent cause existed for doubting the fidelity of the troopers of the 14th cavalry, and the danger consequently seemed but of limited extent, and not too difficult to be successfully grappled with. As a measure of precaution, however, arrangements were quietly made for the removal of the European families from their bungalows, &c., to the town fort, where the officers now took up their night quarters, spending the day at the cantonments as usual, to avoid exciting suspicion that an *émeute* was anticipated.

The surveyor of the revenue of the district, Captain Burgess, with the whole of his official establishment, had their tents pitched within the fort, and everything was prepared for the permanent accommodation of the European and *half-caste* residents, when it should be necessary for them to seek the asylum.

Nothing to indicate an immediate movement occurred until the morning of Thursday, the 4th of June, when the men of the 7th company of the 12th regiment, headed by one of their havildars, suddenly marched into the "Star Fort," and took possession of it, with the treasure, ammunition, and stores deposited there. Upon this decided act of open mutiny being reported to Captain Dunlop, he immediately dispatched the following communication to Colonel Kirke, dated "Jhansie, June 4th, 1857, 4 P.M.":—

"Sir,—The artillery and infantry have broken into mutiny, and have entered the 'Star Fort.' No one has been hurt as yet. Look out for stragglers.

"Yours, &c., J. DUNLOP."

On the departure of his messenger, Captain Dunlop paraded those companies of the regiment that had not joined in the mutinous demonstration, and the men of the irregular cavalry, and called upon them to preserve the honour of their respective corps by their fidelity and obedience. The troops eagerly and loudly responded to this appeal, by declaring they would do so, and would stand by their colours and their officers to the last man. Reassured by these protestations of loyalty and attachment, Captain Dunlop remained in the lines during that and the following day, and nothing occurred to awaken his suspicions of impending mischief.

During the evening of the 4th of June, the whole of the European families at the station were removed to the fort, and began to prepare in earnest for the defence of the position. The whole number of Europeans in the town fort on the night of the 4th of June, was fifty-five, including the ladies and children; some of the *half-castes* having previously ventured to leave the place, but without the good fortune to ensure safety by so doing.

As yet no blood had stained the hands of the mutineers at Jhansie; but about noon of Saturday, the 6th of June, as Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor were walking together across the parade-ground of the 12th, on

their return from the post-office, some men of the 12th, without any warning, raised their muskets and deliberately shot down the two officers. Lieutenant Campbell, of the 14th, who was on horseback near the spot where they fell, instantly rode off in the direction of the town fort, whither he was pursued by some of his own troopers, and thrice wounded before he gained shelter. Lieutenant Turnbull, the assistant-surveyor of revenue, hastened from the lines; but being on foot, and unable to reach the fort, he climbed a tree for concealment from the men who were following him. Unfortunately, he was seen in the act by some persons who directed his pursuers to the spot, and the latter, on their arrival, shot him down, and he fell a corpse at their feet, riddled with bullets. A native servant to one of the officers, who remained in the fort until the 8th, afterwards stated that the inmates could see, through their glasses, the men killing Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor; and it was not until that occurrence that the gates were closed and barricaded with large stones. The people in the fort also observed the approach of Lieutenant Campbell, with the sowars in close pursuit; and, with their well-aimed rifles, secured his safety for a time by bringing down some of the sowars as they came within range.

The fort being now, it was thought, effectually secured from attack, the little garrison calmly awaited the arrival of hoped-for succour, and occupied the interval in getting provisions from the town, hoisting the supplies, by ropes, through an embrasure in the parapet—occasionally varying their occupation by shooting such of the mutinous soldiers as ventured within range; and, by cautious practice from the loopholes and embrasures of the fort, they managed to make some havoc among their assailants; the only loss in return being that of Captain Gordon, who was shot through the head while hauling up a bucket of wheat, that had been brought to the wall of the fort by a native groom belonging to one of the officers.

The parties collected within the fort at the time its gates were barricaded, were Major Skene, his wife and two children; Captain Gordon, of the Madras native infantry; Dr. M'Egan (12th native infantry) and wife; Lieutenant Powys, 6th native infantry (attached to the canal department), with his wife and child; Dr. Brown, deputy commissioner of Jalowan, with his wife, child, and sister; two ladies from Orai, guests of the last-named gentleman; Quartermaster-sergeant Newton, with his wife and four children; and the whole of the English and Christian native *employés* in the canal and civil departments, with their wives, children, and other relatives.

It was not alone to attacks from without that this little community was exposed: while busied in providing against the open enemies that surrounded the fort, treachery within the walls was at work to destroy them! One of the khitmutgurs of Captain Burgess, seizing an opportunity when he thought he was unobserved, began rapidly to pull away the stones piled up to secure one of the gates: but being detected in the treacherous act by Lieutenant Powys, that officer indignantly shot him, and was himself immediately cut down by the tulwar of another native servant standing by. Lieutenant Burgess, who, between the closing of the fort and its surrender, had himself brought down fourteen of the rebels by his rifle practice, avenged the death of his brother-officer by killing his murderer. The position of the Europeans now became desperate; and, during the night of the 7th, some of the civil *employés* endeavoured to escape in native clothing by descending from the parapet; but they were instantly caught, and butchered before the eyes of the friends they had just left.

In the course of Monday, the 8th of June, offers of safety for the whole of the Europeans within the fort, were proposed by the mutineers, who had then completely surrounded it; and two of the gates having been battered in, the provisions nearly exhausted, and no succour appearing probable, Major Skene and the other officers, relying upon the assurances made them, that the lives of all would be spared if they surrendered—a condition that both Hindoos and Mohammedans pledged themselves by oaths to observe—a gateway was cleared, and all walked out of the fort, except Lieutenant Powys (who was yet alive, but unable to move) and his wife, who refused to leave her dying husband. She was, however, torn from his side and compelled to join the rest of the betrayed party.

The evacuation of the fort, and its consequences, are thus described by an officer who, under a clever disguise, managed to escape the butcheries of Jhansie, and, it is hoped, lived to avenge them.

"At last Major Skene, taking the arm of one of the party, emerged from the gateway, near which a strong body of the rebels were drawn up in two lines to receive their victims. The soldiers stood quiet until the last of the Europeans had left the fort, and then, suddenly closing upon the officers and other males, seized each of them, tied them with ropes they had with them for the purpose, and led them to an adjacent garden: the females were next secured in the same way; and then every soul, whatever the age, rank, or sex, was killed by the sword. The men died first, Burgess taking the lead—his elbows tied behind his back, and a Prayer-book in his hands. What a sad end for so kind-hearted and unselfish a man! But to die confessing the faith is a noble death. The rest died in the same way. They tried hard to get the women and children saved. Our quartermaster-sergeant and his family alone were spared; the servant says he was taken with the rebels when they left. This man said, the women stood with their babes in their arms, and the older children holding their gowns. They had to see the men killed; but, with one exception only, I believe they were spared any violence save death. Dear little Mrs. Powys—I think of her with such a pang. Poor Dunlop, too, the first friend I made in India; and Turnbull, so warm-hearted and anxious to do good and to benefit others. Poor little Taylor! he had been with his brother, and had made great haste to rejoin on the mutinies breaking out at other stations. He reached Jhansie a few days before he died. I am so glad you and your pets were gone. I should have withered with horror at your sharing the awful end of the other poor ladies. It is bad enough to have to mourn Mrs. Powys. Ryves, thank God, escaped to Gwalior. I have seen his name in two Calcutta papers, which say that he had escaped, with others, to Agra, when the Gwalior troops mutinied."

The following passages comprise the substance of a statement given by some native servants who were shut up in the fort with the Europeans, and on their release from thence on the 10th of June, after the massacre of their employers, found an opportunity to escape to the head-quarters of the 12th regiment, and relate the incidents of the mutiny as they occurred:—"For some time since the gentlemen had been in the habit of passing the nights in the fort, and spending the days at their bungalows. Captain Burgess and his establishment had their tents pitched within the fort, and everything was being put in readiness to retreat into the fort so soon as there should be occasion to do so, which occurred on the evening of the 4th of June. Some few effected their escape from the place altogether; one gentleman (name unknown) reached Burwur Sagar, when, meeting with a native surveyor of the canal establishment (Sahib Rai), he gave him his watch and horse, and, procuring a Hindostani dress, escaped on foot. He was scarcely out of sight, when two sowars, who were hotly pursuing him, arrived there, and, recognising the horse, took Sahib Rai and the thanadar prisoners (bound) back to Jhansie, where they were still when last heard of. Lieutenant Turnbull was not so fortunate, as, not having been able to gain the fort, he climbed a large tree. He had, however, been seen, and was shot in the tree.

"From the evening of the 4th until noon of the 8th, the gentlemen in the fort kept good their position, the ladies assisting them in cooking for them, sending them refreshments, casting bullets, &c. There were fifty-five in number altogether (Europeans), inclusive of the ladies and children, and they began to get very much straitened for want of provisions, &c. Behind all the gates they had piled high heaps of stones to strengthen them, and kept up so good a defence, that one of the cannon which had been brought too near the gates was abandoned, and it was only by fixing ropes to it in the night-time that the mutineers were able to regain possession of it. Lieutenant Powys was the second person killed in the fort. The way he met his death was this:—Two men, brothers, in Captain Burgess's employ (one was his jemadar) declared that they would go out. They were told they would be shot down if they attempted it, but they said they might as well be shot as stay there to be starved, and accordingly commenced undoing the fastenings. One was shot immediately; the other turned on Lieutenant Powys, who happened to be near him, and cut him down with his tulwar. This one also was directly shot by Captain Burgess. The only other person killed inside the fort was Captain Gordon, who received a bullet in the head while raising some provisions into the fort. His death occasioned much grief among the gentlemen.

"The mutineers at last, having forced the ranee to assist them with guns and elephants, succeeded in effecting an entrance at two of the gates, and they promised the gentlemen that if they laid down their arms, and gave themselves up quietly, their lives should be spared. The gentlemen unfortunately trusted to their word and came out. They were tied in a long line between some trees, and, after a short consultation, had their heads struck off. Such ladies as had children had to see them cut in halves before their own turns came. The sowars, it appears, bore the principal part in all these atrocities. This took place on the afternoon of the 8th of June."

The following extract from a letter to a relative of Captain Skene, in which the death of that officer and his wife, and also that of Captain Gordon, is referred to, is interesting, although it varies in some important particulars from the foregoing statement:—

"It is all true about poor Frank Gordon. He, Alic Skene, his wife, and a few peons managed to get into a small round tower when the disturbance began; the children and all the rest were in other parts of the fort—altogether, sixty. Gordon had a regular battery of guns, also revolvers; and he and Skene picked off the rebels as fast as they could fire, Mrs. Skene loading for them. The peons say they never missed once, and before it was all over they killed thirty-seven, besides many wounded. The rebels, after butchering all in the fort, brought ladders against the tower, and commenced swarming up. Frank Gordon was shot through the forehead, and killed at once. Skene then saw it was no use going on any more, so he kissed his wife, shot her, and then himself."

The subjoined communication, addressed by Mr. Thornton, joint magistrate and deputy collector, to Captain Bruce, superintendent of police at Cawnpore, was forwarded by Lieutenant-colonel Neill to the secretary of the government, and forms what may be considered an official report of the occurrences at Jhansie, and a list of the persons murdered by the rebels. This document is dated "Sumpther, August 18th, 1857," and runs thus:—

"For the information of the general, I beg to inclose a list of those who were killed at Jhansie. The mutiny commenced on the 5th of June; on the 6th, four officers were killed on the parade; the others, who escaped into the fort, were massacred on the 8th. It is the general impression that the mutineers, after killing their own officers and plundering the treasury, were going off; and it was only at the instigation of the Jhansie ranee, with a view of her obtaining possession of the district, that they, together with other armed men furnished by the ranee, attacked the fort. For two days our officers held out bravely, shooting several who attempted to force an entry into the fort; but, as they had no guns or ammunition, or food, they gave themselves up after the mutineers had sworn most solemnly to allow them to go unmolested. Yet they allowed them to be massacred by the ranee's people in their presence, in a most cruel and brutal manner, having no regard to sex or age. For this act, the mutineers are said to have received from her, 35,000 rupees in cash, two elephants, and five horses. The ranee has now raised a body of about 14,000 men, and has twenty guns, which had been kept concealed by the former Jhansie chief, by being buried within the fort, and of which nothing was known to our officers. I am not certain whether she intends to make any resistance in case our troops come to this quarter; but none of the other native chiefs in Bundlecund have as yet turned against our government. The Jalowan chief has raised a body of about 12,000 men, but I do not think he would fight against us. There is a rumour here that Major Erskine, commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, Jalowan, and Jhansie, is coming this side with some Madras regiments; but of this I am not certain. At Saugor, too, a portion of our troops have mutinied, but no particulars are known; and, from my peculiar position here, I have been unable to communicate with him. We hope to hear that more troops have arrived, and all will soon be settled in every quarter. Please to let me know how affairs are at Meerut; whether the two European corps which were there are still in *statu quo*, or have gone elsewhere.

"I might as well mention, for the information of the general, that the man who is now in possession of Jalowan, was the jhageerdar of Gourserai, within my jurisdiction, which comprised the pergunnahs of Mhow, Pandwah, Gurrotah, and Gourserai. I held my own office at Mhow Raneepoor, in the Jhansie district.

"*List of persons killed at Jhansie.*—Left

wing 12th native infantry:—Captain Dunlop, commanding; Lieutenant Ryves; Ensign Taylor; Dr. M'Egan, with wife and sister; Quartermaster-sergeant Newton, with wife and four children. Detachment 14th irregular cavalry:—Lieutenant Campbell, commanding; name of the other officer not known. *Civil.*—Captain Skene, superintendent of Jalowan, Jhansie, and Chandeyree, with wife and two children; Lieutenant Gordon, deputy commissioner of Jhansie; Mr. J. Andrews, P. S. Ameen, Jhansie; Mr. R. Andrews, deputy magistrate and deputy collector at Jhansie, with wife and four children. Captain Burgess, revenue surveyor; Lieutenant Turnbull, assistant ditto; Mr. Murood, sub-assistant ditto, with wife; Mr. Blyth, mother-in-law, and three children; Mr. Millard, with wife and three children; Mr. Young, senior, with wife; Mr. Young, junior, sub-assistant; Mr. Gabriel, revenue surveyor; Mr. Carshore, collector of customs, with wife and four children; Mr. Wilton, patrol, with wife and child, and two sisters; Mr. Orr, superintendent of customs, with wife and mother. *Clerks.*—Mr. Scott; Mr. Purcell, senior; Mr. Purcell, junior; Mr. Elliott, with father and mother; Mr. Muttoo, senior, with wife and child; Mr. Muttoo, junior; Mr. Crawford. Sergeant Ryley, overseer of public works at Jhansie; Mr. Fleming, out of service; Mrs. Brown, wife of Dr. Brown, deputy commissioner of Jalowan, with a child and sister.

"The above is a list of such as have been ascertained to have been killed at Jhansie. Mr. Crawford, one of the Jhansie clerks, who is at present here, is the only person who appears to have escaped from Jhansie."

NOWGONG.—In June, 1857, the military force at this station comprised the headquarters of the 12th regiment of native infantry (numbering about 400 bayonets), 219 sowars of the 14th regiment of irregular horse, and the 4th company of the 9th battalion of native artillery, consisting of sixty men, with a light field battery attached. The temper of the whole force had, for several weeks, given occasion for much disquietude to the officer in command of the station, Major H. Kirke, of the 12th regiment; and had the reports transmitted by him to the seat of government reached their intended destination, in all probability the events that occurred at Nowgong after the outrages at Jhansie, would have been effectually guarded against, and the sufferings and sacrifices at one place alleviated, if not prevented altogether. Unfortunately, owing to the state of the country round both stations, those reports appear to have been intercepted in every case until the mischief they anticipated had been accomplished, and succour became unavailing.

About the middle of May, rumours began to prevail among the troops, of intended visits by mutinous parties from other stations, by whom they would be compelled to join in the rebellious movement; and the officers were kept in a state of unceasing activity, in fruitless endeavours to trace the source of information so productive of excitement among the men. By degrees, the temper of a considerable portion of the troops assumed a tone of indifference to the orders of their officers, and in some cases open disobedience was exhibited; but in the absence of even a single company of Europeans to enforce the orders of the commanding officer and restore discipline, it was not thought prudent to venture upon a court-martial. There were also among the troops many well-disposed men, upon whom it was considered reliance might be placed, in the event of any attempt on the part of the disaffected to break into open mutiny; and as it was not then known to Major Kirke that his despatches had been intercepted, he probably deemed it advisable to temporise until sufficiently strengthened to resort to a decisive line of action with a prospect of success.

On the 4th of June, as before observed,* the mutiny at Jhansie was inaugurated by the seizure of the Star Fort; and upon the fact becoming known to the troops, great excitement prevailed, and, as usual in all instances of Hindoo or Mohammedan impulse connected with the revolt, it first found expression in vehement declarations of attachment to their officers and of loyalty to the state; but these superficial demonstrations scarcely deceived those to whom they were offered. The wanton and unprovoked outrages committed by native troops at places where they had obtained a mastery over the European populations, had by this time destroyed all confidence in the races of which the Bengal army was chiefly composed; and a few hours sufficed to prove, that whatever suspicion of duplicity existed, it was amply justified by the result.

The occurrences at Nowgong, immediately subsequent to the outbreak at

* See *ante*, p. 271.

Jhansie, are so graphically described in the subjoined narrative by an officer of the 12th regiment, that no apology can be necessary for its introduction in these pages. The gallant author of the interesting detail says—"Our Nowgong tale is this:—On the 5th of June our men volunteered, company by company, to serve against the rebels, to revenge the honourable Company upon them. They were in the best possible spirits; they were thanked and praised, and then told the Jhansie news at a parade at 3 P.M. They were unanimous and enthusiastic in declaring that they would stand by us; so were the artillery. The cavalry were cool, and professed their allegiance, as if it were absurd to ask such a question of such honourable men. We were very glad to find the three arms show loyalty; and I thanked God, who disposes men's hearts. On the 8th we got news of poor Dunlop's death, and heard from Mouraneepore that every European at Jhansie was murdered. On the 9th the artillery company said they were anxious to serve against the rebels. We had heard, about the 1st of June, of some plot being hatched in the company, had seized four of the most mischievous, dismissed them by a word, and walked them off *instanter* to Chutterpore as prisoners. We dared not hold a court-martial; a sudden and successful blow was our only course, and this one told; the company was quiet, and, rid of its worst, was well-inclined. Our own men had all along shown us the utmost good-will, and it was unfeigned, with the exception of a few. On the 10th all was quiet till sunset, when the six artillery guns were as usual brought on our parade, and our new guards were being marched off to relieve old ones, when a tall dare-devil Sikh and two others walked forward, the former loading his piece. He made for the havildar-major, a very nice, faithful man, and shot him down. Mrs. Mawe, Mr. Smalley, and Mr. Franks and others saw him shot. He fell dead. The three Sikhs then dashed to the guns. The artillery sergeant made some attempt to defend them, and several muskets were fired at him, he says. None of the gunners stood by him, and so he made off. One sergeant-major, as big as Falstaff, did so too. One sepoy pushed aside a musket that was being fired at him. For some time we had all dined at 4 P.M., as we went early to the lines and to guards to prevent mischief. We had done dinner, and Dr. Mawe had been urging our making a move, because it was impossible that our men would stand fast after their brothers at Jhansie had rebelled, and were still so near. I had said that, great as the danger was, we could not abandon the station without orders; we could not move until carriage came, and it was almost certain that the first mention of collecting carriage would precipitate a revolt. A few days before I had sent for the government camels, to see them. They were only eight or nine; and those who wished to mutiny set abroad a story that I had sent for the camels in order to remove the treasure: it was our danger all along; and the rumour warned us that there was a party who intended to mutiny; and to stimulate the courage of some, and to quicken matters, gave out that, if they delayed, the treasure would be gone. You may fancy how anxious we were from the 23rd of April, when the fires began, till now—one event after another adding to the proof that mischief was being hatched by some.

"The 14th irregulars told us, on the 23rd of May, that all the Christians at Delhi had been murdered for their belief in Jesus. I did not alarm the others, but I knew what we might expect from them, as, with four or five exceptions, they were all Mohammedans, and very fiery ones. They were very independent after that announcement, doing duty in a gay, careless manner, that seemed to say, 'It will soon be at an end; we are merely amusing ourselves in obeying orders.' I had to go among them and give orders, and I did so with no pleasure, feeling that my life was not safe a moment with them. The native officers were chillingly polite, as Mohammedans know well how to be. Barber never would believe anything against them, and went continually to their lines to the last. I slept at nights at the corner of your compound on the back road, with two guns all ready for the irregulars, but I never got a chance.

"Well, Dr. Mawe and I had hardly ended our conversation when we heard several musket-shots in the lines. There was no doubting what they meant. I went to the top of the mess-house to reconnoitre and learn the state of things, and form a plan before going to the lines. Ewart and Townsend mounted and galloped straight to the lines. Franks had gone there some time before, and was speaking to Mr. Smalley, and he saw what happened from the first, and rode off to tell us all. Poor Townsend was only in time to see his guns in other

hands. I tried to get men together and to make a dash at the guns with Ewart, who joined me, but no one would move. They were panic-stricken or mutinous. At last I got a bugler who was too nervous to sound. I blew the 'assembly' several times, but with no effect; no more joined me than before. One gun loaded with grape had been fired over the lines, and I thought another would be fired at me for sounding the bugle. Perhaps they knew it was of little use. At any rate they did not fire. I pushed across the lines with Ewart, the men trying to force us back (to save our lives.) At last, as I saw none would accompany us, and that some of the men were against us, I made Ewart come back with me to the mess-house. More than 100 men must have collected there. The Smalleys and Dr. and Mrs. Mawe had for some time occupied the two sergeants' bungalows, which you may recollect stood on our parade at the left of the lines. The buggy road on to the parade passed between them. They thus got at once, with the two children and their two buggies, to the mess. The major and Jackson had meanwhile done their best to get the men there to attack the mutineers, but they would not budge. The major insisted on our holding the mess-house, occupying the top. Jackson reasoned him out of this before I got back. A 9-pounder that the rebels brought opposite the mess-house helped his arguments, and we all made off, the old camel-carriage and two buggies with us. The fat sergeant-major broke Mr. Smalley's buggy in five minutes after entering it. The camel-carriage soon upset, and had to be left. The two ladies went on in Dr. Mawe's buggy. The major called out to go to Chutterpore, but Dr. Mawe providentially took a road at right angles to the one intended. He knew that I had taken it when removing the artillerymen, but I had only done so to throw pursuers on a false scent; and Dr. Mawe, ignorant of this, took the same road. It leads to Gurowlee from Mrs. Powys' house, and the sowars and others, with ill intent, sought for us at Gurowlee. The rajah of that place had paid us a visit a few days before, and this confirmed the bloodthirsty ruffians in their mistake. A round shot and a shower of grape were sent after us. They did no harm, as we were not visible to the gunners. I thought at first that the guns were merely meant to terrify us and convince us we must go, but I am quite sure now it was meant to rival Jhansie. I did not know till to-day, that before I left the mess a charge of grape was fired at the tents the officers used to occupy on parade. A second was fired over the lines towards Dr. Boys' house, and two more, after a long interval, as we left the mess. Young Henry Kirke just got out of his father's compound in time to see a lot of troopers ride up with drawn swords and surround the house. A Sikh on his father's guard aimed at him, but the naik put the barrel aside, and Henry reached us safely. Providentially avarice was uppermost in the mutineers' minds. They seized our bearers and khitmutgurs, thinking they would have money, and would also know what direction the officers had taken.

"The mess khansaman was taken a prisoner with the rebels on their march, to be tortured or terrified into disgorging. I heard that they cut his head off at Allipore. The bungalows were surrounded by parties. The sepoys took what they wanted, and then they burnt house and all together, a party preventing others removing anything. The bazaar was then attacked, and the dealers stripped, and searched, and threatened. They seem to have known what was coming and to have concealed it from us, trusting to a promise that they would not be robbed, and an assurance that hostility would only be directed against us. It is a mercy the men were thus occupied, and that the moon was long in rising and the night dark, as it caused us to miss the Chutterpore-road again; we hit the Lake-road. The country between the two could not be crossed, and so Jackson said we had better make for the Lake and get his old boatman, Bowanee, to show us a cross-country road to Cawnpore. Our sepoys were dwindling off, and those with us were only ready to disperse or run from an attack. We kept quiet. The sepoys said we should be followed and cut up. I thought that it had been intended by the mutineers of the 12th to let us go; they did not; but our track was not known. They tried to find us, but failed. They sent threatening messages to rajahs in the vicinity forbidding them to shelter us; but the Chutterpore ranee, ruling for her son, did not mind them. We got to her city, Chutterpore, at daybreak of the 11th, and stayed till the night of the 12th. Poor Townsend and I then went back to cantonments. The rebels had gone on the 11th at 3 P.M. Not a bungalow had escaped the flames; the mess-house could

not be burnt. The whole country around was walking off with wood from the lines and bazaar. We left in the afternoon and slept at the Logassee rajah's, nine miles off. Major Kirke was there; his health had been failing; and now, from want of tea, wine, and beer, he was quite gone. The remains of the corps (seventy-nine sepoys, four native officers, and some havildars—your pet for one) had left Chutterpore on the night of the 12th. On the way the major took it into his head the sepoys meant to murder him, and rushed off without any warning to Logassee. He passed the night there, imagining all sorts of horrible deeds were being meditated by the rajah, who treated us most kindly. We set out early under a guard, and on the way heard that when we joined all the officers were to be murdered. The rajah said, his servant, who had been in the camp, had overheard it, so we changed our route, and wrote to Jackson to look out and join us at Churkharee, whither we went by a forced march, meaning to ask the rajah for troops to enable us to disarm the last comers of our men. They might have joined solely for mischief. But it was all an illusion; and the servant had made the tale up. The rajah sent us during the day a second message, to say he heard that something had happened. I calculated on the men being disconcerted at our not coming and postponing the assault. The men were, on the contrary, most faithful, and were greatly excited at the major's absence, and were in great suspense and pain through hearing he and I had been killed. They were actually weeping, and were determined to go no further till we came, or at least till the major did. We joined them at Malwa on the 15th at night. The rajah had treated us ill, and feared to shelter us, lest the rebels should hear of it. The dâk from Agra came in during the day, and he took heart, and then let it be known we were with him, giving us a carriage-and-four to get to Malwa. There we found all the Nowgong Christians, save two bandsmen, and the woman who was servant to you for two hours, and then made a great rumpuss about the children, and left you. I think she then must have gone with the mutineers. The Christians had hid themselves till they could get away. I half fear that one drummer, George Dick, the African, was killed by men of the 14th, near Mhow. Mr. Carne, at Malwa, was very kind, and we stayed at his house till the night of the 17th. He could not get people to obey, and had got the Churkharee rajah to take care of the district for him. On the 17th we moved off southwards, to get to the Ganges. No tents for any one. I had brought a cartload of wine, &c., from Nowgong, and a little tea I found on the road behind my house. It was useful while we had it. Our guide took us off the proper road to a village full of men; we found them all ready armed with clubs, seemingly dreading us. We passed through. I had ordered the whole not to enter till I came back from a visit, and was determined not to enter it. Some one said I had sent word to move on; and when too late I found the party in the village. The road now lay through a pass between two hills. We camped opposite it under trees. The hills were covered with men, some armed; some were in the pass too. I thought they feared us, and went towards them; so did Jackson, and said they had nothing to fear. By noon a message came that we must give 1,000 rupees, or we should not pass. I told the men to get ready to force a passage at four, and all were in high spirits for a while. But some time after, to my horror, a native officer came and said we must pay the money. We had a long consultation about it, and perceived that we must either allow the transaction or be left by the sepoys, so 700 were paid to the head of the party, and 300 more promised on our getting safe to Callingur. The man was to aid us by the way. It was very humiliating; but, after all our anger, we had to agree.

"We had nearly forty women and children to look after, and seventy-nine men were not sufficient to protect them on the march, although we were the masters now, as all our orders were obeyed, and the men were servants to us, cleaning our horses, &c.; but we could not enforce their presence with us on our way. Next morning, at daybreak, the men who held the pass fired upon us. Our men fired in the air, or without an aim, and then fell back. The major now came to his senses, and was himself, from being like a child, who spoke of a mango, or something to eat or drink, as if it were his life; and he and Jackson and Franks did their best to bring the men up to the attack; but they all melted away fast, panic-stricken. Poor Barber never had strength to do anything from the moment we started. Ewart, poor Townsend,

and I, kept our ground with a few men, ten or twelve, who stood by us, and we fired away at the rascals. One of them afterwards saw the drum-major elsewhere, and said we had killed fourteen. I saw none fall. I could not go for more men, lest the few who were standing should follow me. We kept the rascals at a distance, and long out of shot of the women. At last poor Townsend fell, shot through the breast; he said, 'My God, I am hit!' and fell, turning over and over. I lifted him, and saw the blood coming from his heart. I said, 'I think we must go.' At any rate, we all moved back. The main party were a long way off, the men I am ashamed to say, walking very quick. I knelt beside the poor fellow when we were left alone, and prayed that he might speedily rise in the resurrection to joy. I brought away his sword, and left the body. He was a brave, warm-hearted fellow, and would have been a fine officer. We walked or rode all that day till 3 P.M.; not a buggy or carriage was brought away. Mr. Mawe and Mr. Smalley walked from daylight till past noon on foot. I was alone in the rear all the time, with some of the women and two children. I sent Ewart on to find out where the main body had gone, as they were a long way out of sight. He seems to have lost his senses with the sun; for he told the corps I was in a city close to them, when I was miles behind; the main party pushed on, and every one had to follow as they best could. Our enemies followed till we came to a native chief's lands, and then stopped. The people fired on us; and we were threatened on every side. Mr. Carne, who had joined us, left us now, and went to the Ghorkoree rajah, who took him in and protected him. My work that day was terrible. I had to try to lug along two fat old women, while I carried three children on my horse, and tried to keep back the sepoys who were with me. The senior havildar got more and more savage, and wanted me to leave the children and women; but I would not, and, thank God, they did not leave us. I came at last to Mr. Smalley sitting beside his wife; she seemed dead, but it was doubtful, so I took her up before me, and gave a boy to my writer who had got hold of my horse. I was on poor Townsend's, and I went on thus some distance. It was a most arduous task to keep the utterly inert body on the horse, as I placed her as women ride; but after awhile she seemed dead. I held a consultation about it, and we left the body. I then got on foot. I was lame from an awful kick of a horse, and had only a strip of cloth on one foot; but poor Smalley was worse off, and he got on my horse, and Mrs. Tiernay behind; her two children each got a seat on the two horses, and thus I reached the main body. I found on the way a golosh the poor major had dropped; it was very useful to me. At noon, the sergeant-major died before me in a most awful fit of apoplexy; he fell as if struck, rose, staggered, fell again, and died.

"The major, ere I reached, had died of the sun too. I had lost sight of some of my party. I went slowly, and did all I could for them; but I was obliged, the country being so hostile, to join the main body, and save those on my horses. The sepoys were very glad to see me; they feared I had been murdered at Malwa; Ewart had said I had entered it with him, and that we had been fired at there, and that I had not come away. He went in alone, when I was miles behind him. His imagination was for a long time quite bewildered. For the remainder of the day we moved on as a party of officers escorted by rebel sepoys, to be killed at Banda by a nawab. The *ruse* took, and we were allowed to pass. We entered and passed through a large city. Then were fed by it. I heard our men say, 'They are great people, the sahibs; we must treat them as such, and entertain them ere killing them.' The city men assented. We had an opportunity few have of knowing natives; hundreds surrounded us as we sat on the ground and ate chupatties and native sweetmeats. Not one said an uncivil word. Some said our rule had been very just; some expressed sorrow; some, it struck me, did their utmost to get a few of us killed for the amusement of the city. At length all cleared off, it being dark. All the bandsmen and their women were gone to the city to make terms of some sort, or to shift for themselves. The sepoys told us respectfully we must shift for ourselves; they could not protect us, as all the country was against us. We all mounted our horses—Dr. and Mrs. Mawe on Mr. Townsend's horse that I lent them; Mr. Smalley and his child on my own. I was able to walk.

"We suffered terribly from thirst that night and next morning till it was light. We saw a well close to where we had

slept; we sought in a wrong direction at first. We had slept near a road; had we known it we should have gone to a distance for fear of being discovered. It was a great mercy we did not. In the morning we were attacked by villagers with long bamboos, who came about us in numbers that increased every moment. Their yells were horrible and devilish, though we had done nothing. We fired pistols, and missed them. I was commanding, and kept in the rear with Ewart, facing about now and then, and stopping the ruffians. I was horribly hampered with Mr. Smalley behind me and little Lotty in my arms. I missed the ruffians when I fired, but they missed me too. At last some armed horse and foot men joined from the road, and then a Mrs. Kirchoff—who with her husband, a sergeant under poor Powys, had joined us at Malwa—fell off her horse. I had a ruffian with a lance poised at me, and another brandishing one of their long bamboos. I had neither hand free, and missed the spearman. My two friends, however, missed me; and as I could do nothing on horseback, and the woman's husband seemed quite unable to put her on her horse again, I was wanting to get off and fight on foot, feeling we could not leave the woman, when off went my horse at a gallop. I had only a string for a bridle, and had to hold Lotty, and could do nothing to stop the horse that was always a runaway and hard to stop. Franks soon came thundering up, and my horse got worse. I was very angry, not knowing Franks was chased by a loose horse; at last we got near a frightful nullah I expected the horse to leap into, when, to my relief, he yielded, and, turning to the right, stopped short, and I thought all must have been murdered but those who had ridden off; we, however, moved on, sad, as you may suppose. I now found my poor horse had been pierced on the right hock by a lance; he had carried some distance. Franks said, 'No wonder he ran.' Poor Lotty was alive. I had the greatest difficulty in holding her; and in trying to save her the shock of the horse, often nearly lost her. A kind man, a very poor one, sheltered us part of the day; his name was Ferukh Khan. Wherever we turned that day and the next every hand was against us. We were offered water when parched with thirst, to get a chance of knocking us off our horses. At noon of the 21st, a Sunday, we lay down under some trees, and soon became aware of a concourse of armed men being close to us. The others mounted and got off a few yards. I had to pick up Lotty and mount, but had not time to do it, so I took her in my arms and let them come on. My horse could not go at all, so it was useless to attempt an escape. I had repeatedly told the others to make off under such circumstances, and see how I was treated. They did not do so. Good-feeling prompted Franks—who is a fine fellow in many respects—to remain. We were taken to a village. I need not describe what followed, but everything betokened death as certain. One old rascal looked at me maliciously, and made a hacking movement with his hand against his throat, as a suggestion of what we deserved and were to get. We were told, at last, we were to be taken to the nawab of Banda. The poor man Ferukh had said it was certain death to go to Banda, and I felt sure we should be all killed. I had a very faint hope that God might spare us. It was a great relief when we got to the nawab's palace through thousands of zealous Mohammedans, and were pulled inside the gate and assured we were safe. Mrs. Mawe was brought in next day. The rest of the party had got rid of the assailants by shooting one, and by the 21st they had crossed the river Cane, five miles below Banda; they were close to it when some villagers menaced them; they all mounted and rode off. Poor Dr. and Mrs. Mawe fell off and were not noticed, save by Sergeant Kirchoff, who had to attend to his own wife. She had gone on, and he was on foot, and he left the two. Poor Dr. Mawe had lost his hat the day before, and had suffered awfully. He died a few minutes after being left. Poor Mrs. Mawe, burned all over by the sun, went then and sat down in the river to cool her burns. By-and-by some more villagers came, dragged her out, and stripped off her clothes to get money. Others had plundered her and the doctor ere he died; she saved her marriage ring in her hair; she had to leave the body unburied, and with bare feet to walk over the burning rough road for three miles to a village, to be teased and terrified till sleep quieted all the village; next morning they sent her to the nawab. The doctor's last words were, 'Poor Lotty! I am glad to know she is safe with S——.' I am glad he thought so highly of me as to put such confidence in

my efforts, and consequent satisfaction about his child. I am glad God preserved her. We were all sixteen days at the nawab's, and got here on the 12th of July. Poor Mr. Barber was quite knocked up ere Mrs. Mawe lost sight of him; he fell as if shot, an hour afterwards, killed by the sun. Poor Ewart, the most fearless of men, died in the same way. On the 23rd they stopped, and Henry Kirke went to a village to get him a little water; though insensible, he came back with the whole village yelling like fiends at his heels; thus they could neither see Ewart nor Barber breathe their last—every one against them. One man snatched away Kirke's pistol as he gave him drink; another stunned poor Sergeant Kirchoff as he stooped to drink from the man's brass vessel; they cudgelled him till he seemed dead, then plundered him; he rose when they were gone, and God directed his steps to a village where the people sheltered him and gave him money. I think the chief called himself the magistrate of Muboa, for the man who told me of this said he was that official, who is still at Churkharee, or was when we last heard. Jackson, carrying Mrs. Kirchoff behind him (she was tied to him), got with Henry Kirke to a village in a friendly state. He was well received, and sent on here after a few days' rest. He is now second in command of a small force being raised hereabouts by the rajah of Rewah. Mrs. Mawe has left by palkee for Mirzapore, whence a steamer takes her and Lotty to Calcutta—thence she goes home. Poor woman! she suffered awfully; she expects her confinement in September. I was afraid of its taking place every day. Sergeant and Mrs. Kirchoff have gone to Mirzapore. Franks and I are detained to serve with the 30th regiment here. It is loyal—that is, it consults its own interests, and is obedient. It could not well get away if it rebelled now. I pray God it may be true. I have tried to get leave to go to Allahabad, and join an expedition.

"You will feel that we who are alive have much cause to thank God. I am glad to say Jackson and Franks feel this, and see the finger of God in many events that told for us. Everything I possessed has been destroyed; my horse ruined last of all by the spear wound. I had to throw my pistol away in order to hold Lotty. How that child, two years old, lived I know not; angels must have had their wings over it. On the 19th and 20th its head was for hours bare to the sun. On the 22nd I made a rag into a sort of turban. She, aged three years in mind, during her ride was as healthy as any child in England. She felt more horrified than Leonora after her ride with William, and could not endure my approach after her mother came.

"Monday, July 20th.—I was very sorry on the 19th to lose sight of some of the stragglers, but it could not be helped. I could not keep the men back, and I could not carry more on my two horses. Thank God, all got safely to places of shelter save the wife of Mr. Langdale, who wrote for the treasure-chest office. Her husband left her, and she died or was killed. Jackson had a terrible labour in carrying Mrs. Kirchoff behind him, which he did from the 20th to the 23rd or 24th. She sat *à la Turque*, so did Mrs. Mawe behind the doctor, and not as ladies like to sit, both feet on one side. The labour was terrible to Jackson, as the poor woman was tied to him. They went forty miles one day; the women had to ride on the nearly bare backs of the horses, and must have suffered much."

Such, then, were the trials, the perils, and the sufferings of the unfortunate European community of Nowgong, in the struggle for life of its unoffending members. The following statement, by Sergeant Kirchoff, to whom reference has been made in the preceding narrative, supplies further details of interest. The letter is dated from Jubbulpore, July 2nd, and proceeds thus:—"The system of pampering, petting, flattering, and coaxing the sepoys and natives generally, which has been the fashion ever since I have been in the service (and I can bear testimony to some eighteen years), has at last borne its full fruit. Our *prestige* in India is lost for the present, and an army of 50,000 Europeans will be required to restore it. We have little to thank our masters for. Their system has been to exalt the native and lower the European; and so effectually have they done so that the former is now trying his hand at ruling us. Out of evil, however, good sometimes comes. The death-knell of the government which leaves its servants to be helplessly massacred must soon sound. Those iniquitous Black Acts must be put by for another century; that beautiful fabric of native magistracy must be demolished, and the army must be disciplined. Officers who come to India to be soldiers must not look upon their regi-

ments as a punishment, escape from which is the first step towards success in their career. An officer must be an officer, not a schoolmaster, or an inspector, or a thief-catcher, or a gardener, or a tamer of wild beasts, or anything, in fact, except a soldier.

"On the morning of the 15th the party from Nowgong, consisting of the under-mentioned gentlemen, &c., arrived at Mahoba:—Major Kirke; Captain Scott, B.M.; Lieutenant Townsend, artillery; Lieutenant Jackson, adjutant; Lieutenants Remington, Ewart, Franks, and Barber; Mr. Kirke, the major's son; Dr. and Mrs. Mawe and child; Mr. Johnson, adjutant's writer; (Mrs. Johnson was taken off by the sepoys at Nowgong); Mr. Langdale, writer; Mrs. Langdale; Bullock-sergeant Kate; Mr. Smalley, band-master; Mrs. Smalley and child; Sergeant-major Lucas, Mrs. Lucas, and two children; about twenty bandsmen and their families; several native officers, and eighty-seven non-commissioned officers and men of the 12th, and one artilleryman. Mr. Sturt, an assistant patrol, who had escaped from the Jhansie district, arrived in Mahoba a couple of days before the party, and hearing that they were at Chutterpore, joined them there, but returned with them on the 15th. Sergeant Kirchoff and Mrs. Kirchoff also joined the party on their arrival in Mahoba. On their arrival there, the sepoys expressed great dissatisfaction at not finding Major Kirke present, he having left the party suddenly the day previous, without giving any one notice, and had not since been heard of. Captain Scott and Lieutenant Townsend having also left the party at Piperah to return to Nowgong to see after some mess stores, &c., the men were murmuring that all their officers intended leaving them gradually, and they expressed a determination not to leave Mahoba until they had found the major. Fortunately, word was brought from Churkharee that Major Kirke had taken refuge there, and a most pressing letter having been sent to him to return to Mahoba, had the desired effect. He arrived there on the evening of the 16th, and, the other two officers also returning from Nowgong on the same or the next day, preparations were made for a march in the direction (I believe, but am not sure) of Nagode. We left Mahoba on the evening of the 17th, and, after a rather long march, encamped under some hills. During the day (18th) Mr. Carne, the collector of Mahoba, brought out some money (2,000 rupees I believe was the sum) which had been applied for by the Churkharee rajah. This fact was evidently known by a large party of Dacoits, who mustered in force on and behind the hills beneath which we lay encamped, as during the day they sent a message to say that unless 1,000 rupees were paid down to them they would not allow the party to pass. After some consultation among the officers, it was agreed to give them 700 rupees down, and the remaining 300 after their escorting us safely through the range of hills. The 700 rupees were accordingly paid down, and some sort of a written agreement drawn up. During the night there was a false alarm that we were attacked, owing to some horses in camp breaking loose, and several random shots were fired by the sentries; but the cause being speedily ascertained, all was soon quiet again; but on the next morning (the 19th), just at daybreak, when we were all prepared for a start, the Dacoits on the hills commenced a heavy fire on us. Lieutenant Townsend was one of the very first killed, a ball going through his heart. I saw several red-coats on the ground, and the sepoys afterwards told me that ten or twelve of them had been killed and several others wounded. The sepoys appeared to be very disheartened, and complained that their guns could not carry so far, while the matchlockmen were picking them off from the hills, behind stones, &c.; and, as they appeared to be flanking us, a retreat was commenced, leaving carts, &c., in their hands. The party then retraced its way towards Mahoba across the country, skirmishing, as the Dacoits followed for some four or five miles. During this time Captain Scott and another officer returned to the scene of the conflict for the purpose of burying Lieutenant Townsend, and, I believe, accomplished their object. Before we reached Mahoba Mrs. Smalley died, and a subahdar who had a ball in the belly also died. On reaching Mahoba, for some cause not known to me, we did not attempt to enter the place, but, skirting it, struck into the Banda-road. About a mile from Mahoba, Bullock-sergeant Raibe declared that he could go no further; we helped him into a police hut alongside the road, and there left him. Sergeant-major Lucas was the next to die; after staggering a few paces he fell, and never stirred again. About three miles

from Mahoba Major Kirke fell from his horse, and shortly after expired. He was buried under a tree close to the spot. Mr. Langdale was the next who died from the heat. The people of every village we passed turning out armed, the sepoys proposed that all our arms should be taken from us, and that we should be marched as prisoners in the midst of them to Banda, thinking thus to protect their officers. We halted at last at Kubrai, where the people disbelieving the tale that the sepoys told, wanted to take us from them by force to deal with us themselves; and as we found that the sepoys were gradually dropping off, there then not being half the original number left, it was determined by such as had or could get a mount, to make a start as soon as it got dark. The drummers and bandsmen had been promised service there by, I believe, some one called Phylwan Sing, and left us before we started. Mr. Sturt, assistant-patrol, also left disguised as a native, and such as were unavoidably left behind there intended passing themselves off as bandsmen. The following composed the party who left Kubrai on the night of the 19th:—Captain Scott, Lieutenants Jackson, Remington, Franks, Barber, Ewart, Mr. Kirke, Dr. Mawe, Mrs. Mawe and child, Mr. Smalley and child, Sergeant Kirchoff, and Mrs. Kirchoff. We took the direction of Banda, and halted before morning in a tope, very much distressed for want of water, but found on day breaking that a well was close by us. Immediately after starting this morning (the 20th) we were followed and attacked by some villagers, at first merely lattiewallahs, but these were soon joined as we proceeded by others, armed with spears and swords, and a very sharp skirmish took place. Captain Scott's horse receiving a spear in his hind leg, ran away with him, and he was followed by Lieutenants Remington and Franks and Mr. Smalley, and nothing more was heard of these four. They had also Dr. Mawe's child with them, and I believe went off in a direct line towards Banda. It was only after many very narrow escapes, and after killing three of our assailants, that we managed to get away from the remainder. After being pursued by nearly every village near which we showed ourselves, and suffering dreadfully from want of water, we at last reached the Cane river, and were intending to rest for a time in an apparently very secluded spot which we had hit upon to refresh both ourselves and our horses; but in a very short time we found we were again set upon, and had to make a run for it again. Dr. and Mrs. Mawe having fallen off the horse upon which they had been helped, and the horse running off, they were unavoidably left behind here. Of their fate it is difficult to speak. Dr. Mawe had throughout the day been in a very desponding state, several times expressing a determination to proceed to the nearest village and meet his fate at once, whatever it might be. A short distance beyond this Lieutenant Barber fell from his horse, sunstruck. The party was now reduced to the following:—Lieutenant Jackson, Lieutenat Ewart, Mr. Kirke, Sergeant Kirchoff, Mrs. Kirchoff, and an infant of Mr. Smalley's. After skirting Banda, but not daring to venture into it, we turned off in the direction of Nagode, intending to make afresh for that place, and towards evening resolved on trying our luck in a village, where we were well treated and got food for ourselves and our horses. We remained there that night, and the next morning proceeded thence, with two men as guides. After proceeding a few miles we stopped to drink at the village of Mussooree, and imprudently got off our horses to rest ourselves a little, when Lieutenant Jackson, having heard something to alarm him, passed the word to mount as soon as we could. After giving the child into Mr. Kirke's hands when he had mounted, and then assisting my wife to mount behind Mr. Jackson, by the time I reached where I had tied my own horse I was somewhat behindhand, and had scarcely got into the saddle when I received a blow with a lattee on my head from behind, and several others about the body, which of course upset me again. The remainder, however, made good their escape from thence, and were last heard of as having been seen going in the direction of Adzighur. The villagers, amongst whom I was left, after taking all I had, let me go. Beyond this my narrative is only a personal one. With great difficulty I made my way on foot to Nagode, which I reached on the evening of the 25th inst."

The narrative of the mutiny and massacre at Jhansie, and of the less bloody revolt of the troops at Nowgong, will properly be concluded by the official details of both occurrences, as transmitted to the adjutant-general of the army by Captain Scott, of the 12th regiment, who had succeeded to the command

of the party as senior surviving officer of the corps, upon the death of Major Kirke. The report is dated from Nagode, July 28th, 1857, and proceeds thus:—

"Sir,—I have the honour to report that the force at Nowgong,* in Bundlecund, mutinied on the 10th ultimo, and compelled their officers, and all who stood by them, to quit the station. Major H. Kirke, 12th regiment native infantry, commanded the station at the time. His death on the 19th idem, left me the senior survivor of the officers at the station, and it has thus become my duty to make this report. As there is too much reason to fear that reports that Major Kirke made, prior to the mutiny, cannot have got farther than, or even so far as, Cawnpore, it seems proper that I should relate what passed at Nowgong, and was entered in the reports I suppose to have perished.

"The cartridge question had been settled at Nowgong. The infantrymen there, and at Jhansie, were ashamed at the mention of it: the burning of empty bungalows had long been over when, on the 23rd of May, a sepoy of the 12th native infantry, then Major Kirke's orderly, rushed into the house, and told him that he had just got away from a party of twenty or so Poorbeeas and Bundelas, who had asked him to point out the officers' mess-house to them; they appeared to be disappointed in the non-appearance of an accomplice to guide them. The sepoy said he had consented, and making an excuse that he was hungry, got away, promising to return. Major Kirke, with his adjutant and his son, and one or two armed sepoys, went to the spot indicated, after directing the rissaldar commanding the right wing (14th irregulars) to surround it with sowars, and prevent the escape of any one. Only three men were found; one ran off, and rather than stop or make a reply beyond saying he was a sepoy, let himself be fired at three times; two other men, hiding in a hollow tree, let the party pass, and then darted off towards the artillery lines; sowars and infantry at once searched the station, and found no one. Doubt was, a day or two afterwards, thrown on the sepoy's statement by the men of the 12th native infantry, and especially by those at Jhansie; and the senior rissaldar of the 14th, next day, expressed doubts to me; but Major Kirke did not give up his belief in the man having warned him of some plot, though he seemed to think the sepoy had not revealed the facts of it. The rissaldar disobeyed orders, as if to let the man escape. The sentry at the artillery lines falsely denied any men having passed near him; and some time afterwards, when four men of the company were convicted of exciting others to mutiny, it was observed (and that after their conviction and discharge), that this sentry was one of the four. Materials for firing bungalows were found on the spot by myself two hours after, when search was made, and with them there was a peculiar stick slightly burned at one end, as if from being used to stir burning thatch. These circumstances indicated that some mischief was afoot. Whether the sepoy did not dare to tell the truth, and made up a story to put the officers on their guard, or the story was entirely untrue, it was thoroughly believed at the time that Bundelas, and others outside cantonments, meditated the assassination of the British officers; and the men of the 12th manifested an affection for them that was most gratifying. It was felt that some one of the men of the 12th had caused the bungalows to be set on fire in April; the men were then plainly told, that there could be no doubt upon this point, and also that it seemed as clear that the man was not known to more than one or two of his comrades. The display of feeling by the mass of the sepoys that thus accidentally took place, was reassuring, and it bound their officers strongly to them. In proof that the men felt that the fires were lit by one of themselves, I think it well to mention, that when I came upon the materials for firing bungalows, two sepoys eagerly examined a piece of cloth that was among them, and said that the dhoby's mark had been torn away; other sepoys, who next day saw the cloth, did and said the same.

"Next night, Major Kirke planted two guns, under an artillery sergeant, on a long, straight road that traverses the rear of cantonments, which is crossed by many fine wide roads leading to all the lines, and into the bazaars. A strong guard was close to the guns: I was posted there, and had an officer under me. Two guns were posted on the left point of the 12th native infantry lines

* Artillery—4th company, 9th battalion; strength, about 66 men; No. 18 light field battery, attached (bullocks.) Infantry—Right wing and head-quarters 12th regiment native infantry; strength, about 400 bayonets. Cavalry—14th irregulars, left wing; strength, about 219 men.

on the parade; they commanded a road leading out of cantonments. The remaining two guns of the battery were at the gun-shed, between the infantry and cavalry lines; Second-lieutenant Townsend, commanding the battery (and the only European officer present with it), was with these guns: a strong guard, with a European officer, was posted beside him. There were fears felt of the cavalry taking the guns; they furnished a number of pickets all round the station. This duty kept many of the men divided, and at a distance. Suspicion had fallen on the rissaldar commanding the cavalry, and his men: he had informed Major Kirke, on the 23rd (the day of the alarm), that his corps had learned, by letter from Delhi, that every Christian there had been murdered. He appeared to wonder at the little the Europeans knew of affairs in Delhi, while his men and himself were in communication with the place. His neglect, or disobedience of orders, a few hours after, was very suspicious; and from that night, the men and native officers, by their demeanour, awoke strong distrust in our minds: even the sick in the hospital were most insolent to the doctors, until a few days before the mutiny, when they put on another tone; it may be, to lull suspicion.

"The 23rd of May fell a few days before the Eed; and the news of the massacre of the Christians at Delhi roused a fanatic feeling, which may have given place, in the lapse of days, to an idea that their pay and earthly prospects were not to be despised. They seemed so ripe for revolt, that when Major Kirke saw that there was no danger of a foe from outside the cantonments, he kept up the arrangements I have described, as they put it out of the power of the sowars to effect anything against the infantry and artillery while they were stanch. The whole of the guns could, in a few minutes, be brought to bear on the cavalry lines, and the road to Jhansie, which the cavalry were likely to take if they mutinied, as the left wing of the corps was there. Another equally strong reason was, that no one suspected that the arrangements had respect to any foe but outsiders.

"A letter from Captain Gordon, deputy superintendent of Jhansie, had informed Major Kirke that 400 Bundlecund men had been discharged from the late 34th regiment of native infantry: and it was thought very likely that they would, on their return, try to get up an assault on the treasure-chest. The number was overrated, and the men could not have got near Nowgong by that time; this was not clear at first, and the men were not told afterwards that it was known to us that the disbanded 34th were far off. The cavalry obeyed all orders; but their faces betrayed an exultation about the revolt—that was conclusive. No signs of distrust were shown them; officers visited their pickets; and, during the day, went to the lines, and talked with the native officers: they were received with freezing politeness.

"The 12th native infantrymen, and the artillery, liked the arrangements very much; they were greatly gratified by the confidence in them shown by the officers, who slept amongst them. It gave the officers opportunities of conversing with the men; and there can be no doubt that it knit the two to each other. The arrangement had the great advantage of working well; and therefore, in such critical times, it was thought the best policy to keep it up.

"Major-general Sir Hugh Wheeler commanded the division; and when Major Kirke reported to him that he was maintaining order, and that the men were well-disposed and pleased, replied that the report was highly satisfactory. This, of course, was a paramount argument in favour of the men. All went on quietly till about the 30th of May, on which day the pay-havildar of the artillery came to Second-lieutenant Townsend, about 5 P.M., and reported that he had awoke from sleep during the day, and heard men of the company plotting mutiny around him, and that some Sikhs of the 12th native infantry were with them; this was instantly reported to Major Kirke. Next morning, it was learned from many sources that mutiny had been openly plotted the day before in the artillery lines; and it was said by men likely to speak the truth, that the only thing that prevented an outbreak was the determination of the men of the 12th to have nothing to do with it. This havildar, in the morning, spoke out more fully; a private, employed as steward or storekeeper to the battery, confirmed his evidence, and so did the subahdar Byjnath, a very fine old man, who had just been invalided after fifty years' service. Major Kirke had made all the invalided native officers remain at their old posts, and do duty; and they were most willing and useful, with the exception of Subahdar Doorga Sing and Jemadar Lall Mahomed, of the 12th native infantry, who

afterwards joined the mutineers. Doorga Sing then took a prominent part, I believe.

"The abovenamed men agreed in their evidence that mutiny had been openly plotted in the company by a strong party, to which the senior men were opposed. The strongest abuse had been applied to the old subahdar, and the havildar had been told he would be shot, because they were faithful to government. Four men were named by the subahdar as the worst of the mutineers; they were sent for quietly, with other men who could be trusted. They were told that as they were ill-pleased with the Company's service they were discharged from it. They were paid up; a guard was ready, and they were sent off at once to Chutterpore, to be kept from access to any one till further orders, lest they should work some mischief in the lines if merely told to go home. The havildar who commanded this escort, said that he had been greatly apprehensive of an attempt being made by the sowars to rescue the men. The men then had no idea that we distrusted the sowars. The men who, even after the mutiny, stuck to the officers (this havildar was one) testified surprise when I told them that the guns had been posted so as to provide against a rise of the sowars. The major thought that if a court-martial were held on the four accused, the delay might lead to an *émeute*, while a sudden blow at the root of the evil would do good. Only one man of the 12th, a Hindoo, was named as sharing in the plot; he was a well-behaved, quiet man. I believe that the Sikhs of the 12th were taking an open share in the plot, and that the artillery did not dare to denounce them. The officers put great trust in the Sikhs; the Poorbeeas were well aware of this, and it made the Sikhs formidable to them. This man was believed to be innocent; his protestations were believed, and he was not punished. I believe that the dismissal of the four men had a good effect on the artillery company; it intimidated the ill-affected, and it undoubtedly encouraged the faithful portion. Major Kirke from that night had the whole of the guns of the battery brought in front of the quarter-guard of the 12th native infantry. I think that the men of the company felt affronted and humiliated by this measure. I observed that the old subahdar, two days after the discharge of the men, gave up keeping pistols about him, and I felt that it showed he thought the men were to be trusted. Major Kirke promoted to the rank of havildar the steward Seetaram, and wrote a strong letter to General Wheeler, recommending the havildar for promotion, as a reward for their fidelity. Things went on quietly after this, and the sowars' altered demeanour led me to think they were perhaps wronged by our suspicions on the 4th of June; the men of the 12th, following the example of the 70th native infantry, sent word to their company officers that they were anxious to serve against the rebels. Four out of the five companies of the wing had done so, when, at 11 o'clock A.M., a letter brought by express was put into Major Kirke's hand; it was from Captain Dunlop, 12th native infantry, commanding at Jhansie; it had been dashed off in great haste, and ran thus:—

"'To the officer commanding at Nowgong.

"'Jhansie, June 4th, 1857, 4 P.M.

"'Sir,—The artillery and infantry have broken into mutiny, and have entered the Star Fort. No one has been hurt as yet. Look out for stragglers.—Yours, &c.,

"'J. DUNLOP.'

"Major Kirke at once sent for the native officers of the 12th native infantry; said he had received the petition from the various companies (the fifth had by this time been received), and that he was much pleased, and would report the loyalty of the wing to the governor-general. The native officers were allowed to say what they pleased about their fidelity, &c., and then the news from Jhansie was communicated. They were much dismayed and seemingly distressed. They set to work at once, and drew up a letter to the left wing at Jhansie, telling them of the right wing's offer to serve against the rebels; that they had done very wrong in mutinying, and should at once undo what they had done. The letter was at once dispatched by an express. The rissaldar commanding the irregulars was present on this occasion; he had come to speak to Major Kirke about a letter (dated the 3rd instant) he had just received from his commanding officer at Jhansie, Lieutenant Campbell, desiring him to give up the names of some sowars that he had reported to Major Kirke as using mutinous language. The truth was this: several sowars were said by a drummer of the 12th native infantry to have told him in the Suddur Bazaar that they would make crows' meat of him. The rissaldar appears to have been aware of such words having been used, and,

for some object or other, stated to Major Kirke that his younger men would be likely to talk foolishly in the bazaar, and he therefore begged that they might be forbidden the bazaar after a certain hour. Lieutenant Campbell must have heard something about this, and thereon wrote the rissaldar the above letter the day before the mutiny. The rissaldar's object in coming was to say that he had never accused any of his men of having actually used mutinous language. He was very indignant about it. The rissaldar was much discomposed at the Jhansie news; he was a grey-headed man, whose constitution was delicate, and to him it was of consequence to keep his rank and pay: the fanatical feelings the Eed festival raises in a Mohammedan had had time to cool, and he appeared now anxious to conciliate. A parade was ordered at once, and the native officers dismissed with injunctions not to say anything to the men about Jhansie until the revolt was announced on parade. The right wing, 12th native infantry, when asked if they would stand by the colours, rushed forward to them as one man, and were enthusiastic in their expressions of fidelity. The artillery company embraced their guns with expressions of devotion. The men of the 14th said at once that they would be true to government. They expressed no enthusiasm. The officers were much gratified at the men's reply, and word of it was sent to Jhansie.

"That day (the 5th June) two parties of the 14th irregulars, consisting of forty sowars, each under a native officer, were dispatched to Jhansie and Lullutpore, at the requisition of the superintendent of Jhansie, under authority from the lieutenant-governor at Agra. The Jhansie party was required to relieve one of like strength, under the command of Lieutenant Ryves, 12th native infantry. On the 7th of June a report was received from the native officer commanding the Jhansie party, to the effect that he had halted at Mouraneepore (thirty miles from Nowgong) on hearing that all the Europeans at Jhansie were murdered. The same sowar brought a letter from the tehseeldar of Mouraneepore, saying the same, and mentioning that a naik and four sepoys of the right wing, 12th native infantry, were there with some magazine stores. They had left Nowgong on the 30th of May with musket ammunition and buff-belts from Allahabad, for the deputy superintendent at Jhansie. The news of the mutiny had caused them to turn back when about ten miles from Jhansie.

"Major Kirke sent out written orders to the native officers, that if the cavalry had mutinied at Jhansie he should return, but if not, he should push on. The rissaldar of the 14th seemed very uneasy at this news; and when we said that no word had come of the 14th mutinying, he said he much feared they would, as they had very few officers, European or native, and many of the men were very young. He seemed far from anxious now that a mutiny should take place. In the afternoon of the 9th, the shepherd of the left wing mess came in and said that Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor had been killed on the parade-ground at Jhansie on the 5th, by the men of the 12th native infantry. The 12th men at Nowgong seemed horrified at the news; most certainly many of them were sincerely so; and that night the men of the artillery volunteered to serve against the rebels. The men seemed to be well-affected; but the bazaar people seemed to be very anxious to send away their women and children, which Major Kirke would not allow them to do. We were informed that murmurs were going about that the treasury was being emptied of small sums, and that it was to be made over at once to the Gurowlee rajah. Both tales were without foundation; but they were alarming indications that the agent of the general rebellion, who had got the bungalows lighted, and stories set afloat about cartridges and bone-dust otta, was as determined as ever to effect his intention, and that some men aided him. On the 10th a letter in English came from Tewarry Hossein, the tehseeldar of Mouraneepore, saying that he had heard of the murder of every European at Jhansie; that he had received a perwannah to the effect that the ranee of Jhansie was seated on the gudee, and that he was to carry on business as hitherto. He added, that he meant to leave the place at once, and I know that he did so. The mails that had been sent towards Jhansie on the 5th and subsequent days, came back in one bag in the afternoon: the runners had feared to enter the station. At sunset the mutiny broke out.

"Up to that moment the men of the 12th had shown the greatest good-will, attachment, and respect to their officers. I have been ten years with the men, and never

before did I see them show so much good-feeling as they had at all times done since the 23rd of May, when the alarm arose that a massacre of the officers was meditated. I believe that in the majority of the men sincerity and fidelity existed, and that many who mutinied did so under intimidation, and from an infatuated feeling that mutiny was a matter of destiny at present, Benares Brahmins having predicted it. The artillery company had been cheerful and well-disposed until the guns had been brought before our quarter-guard. The driver company were unruly for a few days in May, while an impression was abroad that the infantry would not fire cartridges; but they quieted down the moment the infantry fired; and they remained so. The artillery sergeant told me of this feeling, which went to this length—that the men paid little attention to his orders, and were very much elated. Lieutenant Townsend told me that the sergeant had reported this state of things to him; he appeared to be sure that it was a true report.

"The mutiny broke out thus:—At sunset of the 10th, the guards being paraded, a number of the men began to load, and three Sikhs at the same time stepped to the front. One of them, Kana by name, and sepoy of No. 1 company, shot the havildar-major (Ahee Maun Sing, of No. 4 company, acting as havildar-major) through the head: he fell dead, and did not move. The Sikhs then made a rush at the guns; they were drawn up on the parade-ground as usual. The artillery sergeant made some resistance; he says no one aided him, and he fled and gave information. The sergeant-major (12th) was fired at, and a sepoy, Dursun Sing, of No. 3 company, pushed the barrel aside: he was one of those who stuck to the officers to the last, and Major Kirke said that he would recommend him for the order of merit. The sergeant-major fled to the mess-house. I was told afterwards, by sepoys who remained faithful, that the quarter-guard loaded, or began to do so, to fire on the mutineers, but were stopped by a jemadar, Moharuck Ally, who asked them why they loaded without order? This jemadar a few minutes afterwards joined the mutineers, and was first (report says) in command of the wing. The first use the mutineers made of the guns was to load one with grape, and fire it into a tent that officers occupied close to the quarter-guard. They then seized the treasure-tumbrils, and placed them in the midst of the guns: the treasure-tumbrils were at the quarter-guard. Ensign Franks happened to be at the lines at the time; he saw the guns seized, and immediately went to Major Kirke's to report. All the other officers at the station were at the mess: the shots in the lines gave them the alarm. Second-lieutenant Townsend was the first to reach the lines; his guns were by that time in the mutineers' hands. Lieutenant Ewart (12th native infantry) and myself were the next. Before mounting I went to the top of the mess-house, to have an idea of what was going on.

"When I reached the magazine I found that four sentries were mounted. One of them, a Sikh, seemed not at all surprised at what was going on (being in the plot, of course.) A few sepoys were leaving the lines by a road that crosses the centre of them, and others were hanging about the magazine in a panic-stricken state. I could not induce them to advance on the guns. I hoped to collect men in such numbers that they would make a dash on them; and getting hold of a bugle, I blew the assembly repeatedly, but no one came. The mutineers, just before I did so, fired grape from a gun over the lines, and this struck terror into the men. As none would advance, I entered the lines by the cross-road, and some came on with me; others joined me from their huts, but none would move against the mutineers; indeed, myself and Mr. Ewart had great difficulty in making our way forward, as the men held our horses by the bridles, and, as far as they could, prevented our proceeding. I had ordered the magazine to be opened, that I might get a bugle out, and I was told that the sentries would not let the magazine be opened. I perceived, too, that of the men around me, some were in the plot, and wished to save Mr. Ewart and myself. The jemadar, Moharuck Ally, gave me a most meaning, warning look, and waved his hand, as a sign that I had better go. It was clear that I could effect nothing, so I went back to the mess, ordering Lieutenant Ewart to come with me. Major Kirke, and the officers with him, tried to induce the sepoys that were there (about 100) to attack the mutineers; but they all fell back, and the attempt had been given up by the time I came back.

"A party of the mutineers had now come almost in front of the mess-house, with one

gun. The major, seeing this, ordered us to leave the cantonments, and we began to retire: the sowar orderlies then galloped off to their lines. When we had proceeded about 300 yards, a round shot and a round of grape, or canister, were fired at us: as we were hidden from sight, the aim was incorrect, and no one was hurt. Mrs. Mawe (wife of the doctor), Mr. Smalley (the band-master), and his wife, had joined us at the mess; no ladies were left behind, and we pushed on. The major directed us to take the road to Chutterpore; but Dr. Mawe, who was leading in a buggy, took the Gurowlee-road, which crosses the other at right angles. It was most providential that this mistake was made, as it led to the sowars, when their thirst for plunder was somewhat appeased, going out to Gurowlee in quest of us. When it was dark, and we were hidden from cantonments by a hill, we turned towards Chutterpore, meaning to get on the metalled road that leads direct to it, through the town of Mhow; providentially, again our intentions were accidentally defeated. We had kept too much to our right, and found impassable ground between us and this road; we therefore took the road to the Gora Lake, and, on arrival there, we found a Bhoondeea boatman, a servant of the adjutant of the 12th native infantry (Lieutenant Jackson), who took us by a country road to Chutterpore, which we reached at daybreak in safety.

"Had the sowars attacked us on the way, I do not think the thirty sepoys who were with us would have been of any use, they were so panic-stricken, and that the party would have been cut up. The bungalows were surrounded by the mutineers the moment we left: they took what they pleased, let no one else take anything, and then burned the bungalows, guarding them till no one dare enter; they then plundered the bungalows, and, plunder being over, they sent parties in quest of us. I believe the sowars reproached the infantry for not having killed us all; they ranged the country for us, and, seizing our servants, threatened their lives, under a supposition that they knew what road we had taken: they, too, supposed we had gone to Gurowlee; some were able to say that the people at Mhow assured them we had not gone to Chutterpore. The serai at Chutterpore was given up to us, and at first we were well treated. The ranee meant well; but some of the chief officers were Mohammedans, and seemed to sympathise with the rebels. They told us that a message had come from Nowgong, that the troops had risen for 'deen,' and that the ranee must not shelter us. Fifty sowars, they said, were a coss off, and had brought the message; I believe that none came beyond Mhow, eleven miles off. One man, a sepoy, named Toorab Khan, grenadier company, 12th native infantry, rode out to Chutterpore, and ascertained that we were there; the horse belonged to Lieutenant Becher. A week before, this sepoy was reported by the naik of his guard for having been absent for several hours during the night; his excuse was, that he left the guard for a few minutes, and fell down senseless. Major Kirke would not punish him.

"At 2 or 3 P.M. of the 11th, we heard guns firing at Nowgong. The rebels were firing a salute ere marching. During the night some sepoys came to join us, and caused an alarm that the rebels were approaching. A large force, I believe, turned out to oppose them: I was asleep, and did not know of this till morning. I mention this, to show that the ranee was determined to defend us. By the night of the 12th of June there were with us, four native officers* (three were Brahmins, and one a Mohammedan), five havildars, and seventy-eight sepoys of the 12th native infantry; only one was a Mohammedan. A number of the Christian bandsmen and their wives had come, also of the artillery; only a Christian bugler and a private had come; none came afterwards. Two sepoys of the 12th afterwards joined at Mahoba on the 15th; one had been plundering, and he was made over to the civil authority. No sowar joined the officer. On the 12th, Major Kirke sent me to Nowgong to see what state it was in, and to do what might be necessary and possible. Second-lieutenant Townsend, of the artillery, accompanied me at his own wish. We met a number of people after 9 P.M., carrying, towards Mhow, wood they had plundered from houses in cantonments.

"We found that all the thatched bungalows had been burned; three pukha houses were standing; two of them are very small ones. Of the public buildings only one

* Subahdar Doolar Tewarry; Subahdar Nidhan Misser; Jemadar Ramdutt Tewarry; Jemadar Emam Bux.

had been burned—the bungalow of the sergeant-major of the 12th native infantry. The magazine of the 12th native infantry had been blown up. The men of the 12th had set fire to their lines, but very few huts were burned, as they were tiled. The artillery and cavalry lines were uninjured; so were the bazaars of the 12th, and the cavalry. A large portion of the main street of the Suddur Bazaar was burned down. One house was still burning; but I had no means of putting the fire out. A guard from Chutterpore was in the station for its protection. They were guarding some grain in the Suddur Bazaar, meaning, I believe, to keep it; and they allowed hundreds of villagers to plunder the houses of wood. I fear they have allowed the public buildings to be deprived of all their woodwork, and the huts to be stripped of their roofs merely for the timber. They could easily have prevented plunder; for Lieutenant Townsend and myself cleared the station by firing a few shots, so as not to hurt any one. I gave the official in charge of the station the most particular orders that villagers were to be intimidated, and, if that failed, shot down to prevent plunder. He, and others at Nowgong, thought our rule was over, and the station his ranee's for the future; and my orders were listened to, but not carried out.

"I found a sepoy (a Brahmin) in one hospital in the last stage of sickness, left there to starve, or be killed by dogs; and an old bedridden woman, mother of an invalided naik, and grandmother of a sepoy musician, who had left her uncared-for, to march with the rebels. I entrusted them to the moofedar of the cantonments, who resides in the village of Bellaree, close at hand, and gave his servant money for their food. This man, Bumgopal Dilchit, and his head-servant, Lalla Doma, were well-disposed towards our government, and did their best to give us information of the doings of the mutineers. On the day of the mutiny he sent us word that the forty sowars on their way back from Mouraneepore to Nowgong, had given out at Allipore (a large place, ten miles from Nowgong), that they were going back to murder all the Europeans. The moonshee of the 12th told me, when he joined us at Chutterpore, that the native officer who brought their party back, said all he could in the presence of the moonshee and the native doctor of the 12th native infantry, in the dwelling of the senior rissaldar of the irregulars, to cause a mutiny, stating that the rajah of Allipore had prepared a feast for the force, expecting it to mutiny and march to Jhansie. I forget the native officer's name; I may find it out some day. I mention the circumstance that it may not be forgotten against him; he was a tall old man, very thin-faced. Major Kirke took no notice of the information beyond mentioning it to myself and some of the officers.

"The head-quarters of the regiment marched from Chutterpore on the night of the 12th, and reached Mahoba on the morning of the 15th. Major Kirke left the party during the first march, and went to Logassee, where I met him on the night of the 13th. The rajah was very kind and hospitable to us. Next morning we left, under an escort furnished by the ranee of Nyagong. We left it—a place called Koolpeeha, on the borders of the Churkharee country—and at daybreak of the 15th reached Churkharee. The rajah, from fear of the rebels, was most unwilling to receive us, and hid us from sight. In the course of the day he heard of a dâk from Agra having reached Mahoba, and then he seemed better disposed. In the evening he no longer dreaded publicity, and sent us in a carriage to Mahoba. Mr. Carne, the deputy collector, was there; but his district was so disturbed, that he had made arrangements for the rajah of Churkharee taking charge of it.

"On the 16th, news came in of the mutiny at Banda and at Humeerpore. One party, therefore, marched, on the night of the 17th, for Callingur and Mirzapore, or Chunar, instead of Allahabad, as before intended. The guide took the party out of the way to a village (Jewroho)* in the Jalan territory. A pass between two hills was pointed out as the one we were to proceed by. Some armed men were in it and on the hills. The men in the village, too, were all provided with big lattees. We thought they were afraid of us, and assured them we had no hostile intentions. As matchlockmen were guarding the only village we had passed on the way, and the whole country seemed alarmed, we thought that no danger against us led to the men being on the hills; indeed, it was thought they were seeking their own safety. The sun was up, so the party halted under some trees a short distance from the pass. About

* It is marked in some of the maps.

noon the men in the pass sent us a message demanding money.* The men were ordered to be ready to force the pass at 4 P.M., and they seemed well pleased with the order; but in less than an hour, two of the native officers came to urge that the money should be paid. It was determined, after much consideration, that we should yield to the native officers and men, and let them have their own way in the matter. They were now obedient, and showed more anxiety to please us than I ever before saw them show; but we felt that we could not coerce them, and could not defend the large number of women and children without their aid; indeed, it was too great for the number of sepoys we had; for on the march it was found utterly impossible to prevent the line of carts lengthening out to more than a mile. The country seemed ready for rapine, and the freebooters would have had little difficulty in collecting any number of men from the villages on our road. Mr. Carne, the deputy collector, was with us. The rajah of Churkharee had refused to shelter him, and he was of opinion that the escort of the party to Callingur should be purchased as offered. The men accordingly paid down 300 rupees to the head of the party, who called himself Pran Sing, and applied to the officers for 400 rupees, to make up the advance agreed on. It was given them, and the whole was paid to Pran Sing.

"Next morning, before daybreak, as the party were getting ready to move on without Pran Sing (who had not appeared), the camp was fired into from a tree between it and the pass, where some men were gathered. The sepoys immediately began to fire wildly; and, after a few minutes, they all retreated, save ten or twelve, who held their ground with Lieutenant Ewart, Lieutenant Townsend, and myself. Major Kirke and the officers went after the retreating men, trying in vain to bring them back, and restore order. They moved away at a quick pace in the course of a quarter of an hour; but Lieutenant Townsend was shot in the heart, and died instantly. He was firing when hit. He was a very gallant young officer of less than three years' service. He had for more than a year held the sole charge of his battery; and I am sure, that were Major Kirke now alive, he would bestow great praise on him for the excellent condition his battery was in.

"The whole party, women and children, were, by this time, a good distance from camp; I therefore followed them: the Dacoits' fire was nearly over, but the main party had gone. We moved slowly away, keeping the attacking party at a distance, by turning on them frequently. When we reached the Chutterpore territory, the pursuit ceased; but the main party being fired upon, they moved on as fast as before. The women and children, all on foot, could not keep up or get rest: I remained in the rear with two havildars and four or five sepoys, and had great difficulty in getting the women and children brought on, and in keeping the men back for them; I had no means of helping them on but my own two horses, which I gave up to them; and in spite of all my efforts, several dropped out of sight. I am much distressed to have to state, that before two o'clock, Major Kirke, the Sergeant-major Lascar, and Mrs. Smalley, the wife of the band-master, all died of sunstroke or apoplexy: Major Kirke was with the main party when he died, and he alone was buried, the sepoys helping with their bayonets to dig his grave, which is on the outskirts of the town of Karee Puharee, midway between Mahoba and Kubrai. Major Kirke was failing ere the mutiny took place; and the privations and distress of mind that the mutiny caused him, greatly impaired his mental power: and on the 16th of June, at Mahoba, he told me to act for him, and leave him to sign papers; I did so, referring everything of consequence to his final decision. At the firing of the Dacoits around him, and while trying to rally the men and lead them on, he was himself again while the excitement lasted; I am told that the men went on after the major's death, and stopped at a well till I joined them.

"We entered Kubrai at 3 P.M. The men gave out that they were rebels, taking us to the Banda nawab, to be killed by the king of Delhi's orders; they feared to escort us otherwise. The city people were taken in by the *ruse*, and obeyed the sepoys' requisition for food for us and our horses. People came in crowds to see us, but they did not insult us. A 'Nana Sahib' was usurping authority at Kubrai; perhaps the man spoken of under this title, was an agent of the Nana of Bithoor. When it was dark, and the city people all gone, the men told us that our *ruse* was discovered; that the

* The men in the village, as if in concert with the party in the pass, had ceased to give us any supplies.

moonshee and a Mohammedan native officer had taken all the Christian drummers to the city; and that the sepoy we had imprisoned at Mahoba was in the town, and had told upon us, and they could protect us no further, and we must take our way by ourselves: this was said sadly and respectfully. We left at Kubrai a writer, P. Johnson, who preferred to remain, and a Mrs. Tiernay (a wife of some sergeant that she had deserted for our sergeant-major) and her two children, as she had no chance of life with us, and I had good hopes she would not be injured at Kubrai. The sergeant of artillery was likewise left behind; he had been drunk during the day. When I passed Mahoba, he went back and entered a deserted police chowkee, to sleep there. I heard it said that he had come up just before we started: I never saw him, and he made no attempt to join us. Mr. Carne left us at Mahoba, and went to Chowkeree. The rajah received him. I have seen a letter from him, dated the 29th of June.

"The party that moved on consisted of Lieutenants Ewart, Barber, Jackson, Remington, and Franks; Dr. Mawe, 12th native infantry, and Mrs. Mawe and child; Mr. Harvey Kirke, eldest son of Major Kirke; Mrs. Smalley and child; and Sergeant Kirchoff and his wife. This man was employed at Jaitpoor, near Nowgong, in the canal department under Lieutenant Powys; he joined us at Mahoba. We had only nine horses amongst us. We moved along the Banda-road, past villagers all on the look-out for an attack. Next morning (the 20th of June) we were attacked by villagers, whose number increased every moment. They were joined by two armed horsemen and some foot-men from the road; and it seemed likely to go very hard with us, as Mrs. Kirchoff had fallen off her horse, and we were all crippled for action by having some one behind us, or a child before. While I was doing my best, my horse was struck with a spear, and instantly set off at full gallop. He was a runaway by habit. I had only a single bridle; the curb had fallen off while I had Mrs. Mawe's child before me and Mr. Smalley behind, and I could not stop the animal until it reached a nullah it could not leap. Lieutenant Franks was with me; a loose horse had attacked him and his mare, and, after chasing him round the combatants, compelled him to go straight off. Lieutenant Remington had followed us. None of the party we had left were in sight. I feared that all had been killed, save one or two who might have ridden off; we therefore moved on as fast as my lame horse could go. We were, next day (the 21st), surrounded, when resting in a mango tope, and taken to the nawab of Banda, who treated us very well for sixteen days; when, by order of Major Ellis, the political agent for Bundlecund, he sent us to Nagode. We stayed two days at Adzighur, and were very kindly treated by the ranee. We reached Nagode on the 12th instant.

"I have learned that the villagers who attacked us on the 20th drew off, on Lieutenant Jackson shooting the man who speared my horse. Mrs. Kirchoff's horse having run off, she was placed behind Lieutenant Jackson, and tied to him; he carried her thus till the 24th, when he reached Adzighur. The party then pushed on, and crossed the Cane above Banda. They halted at a nullah for a short time; but some villagers threatening them, they mounted and rode off. Dr. and Mrs. Mawe here fell off their horse; he had been suffering terribly for some time, and died in half-an-hour. The villagers plundered him and his wife before he died, and then left them. In an hour or two more villagers came down, and searched Mrs. Mawe for plunder, and then made her walk, barefooted, three miles to their village, Makkoopoor. Early in the morning of the 22nd of June, they sent her off in a dhooly to Banda. She was met on the way by a palkee the nawab had sent out when he heard of her being in their village. The nawab had sent orders to all the villagers round not to injure Europeans. Mrs. Mawe reached Banda in an hour or two's time; she had suffered terribly from the sun and fatigue. I regret to say that Lieutenant J. H. Barber died on the 20th, an hour or two after Dr. and Mrs. Mawe were left behind; he fell from his horse as if shot. Lieutenant Ewart died on the 22nd, also of sun-stroke. Mr. Harvey Kirke went to a village to get him some water, though he was insensible; he returned with a troop of villagers yelling at his heels like devils, and the party was obliged to push on. They were, shortly after this, drinking at a village, and observed a signal given by one of the villagers. Sergeant Kirchoff was too slow in mounting, and he was stunned with blows and left for dead. Lieutenant Jackson, Mr. Harvey Kirke, and Mrs. Kirchoff, were able to get away.

They were well treated when they entered the Adzighur territory; and, after resting some days, were sent on to Nagode, which they reached on the 29th of June. I am glad to say that Sergeant Kirchoff came to himself after the villagers had left him for dead, got up, and reached a village in Adzighur territory, where he was kindly treated. He was sent on direct to Nagode, and arrived here on the 24th or 25th of June. He and his wife have gone on to Mirzapore; so have Mrs. Mawe and her child. Lieutenant Jackson is at Rewah, employed as second in command of a force being raised there. Lieutenant Remington, Ensign Franks, and myself are here, detained by Major Hampton, commanding. Mr. Smalley, the 12th native infantry bandmaster, is also here; his child died on the road.

"We all found the villagers in the British territory most hostile. One man sheltered myself and party on the 20th, and gave us food. I have reported his conduct to the collector of Banda; and a sepoy of the 50th native infantry, named Rabuccus, ran after Lieutenant Jackson a long way, to say that he had a strong party at his village, and would protect him as long as he chose to remain there. Ere I left Banda, fourteen drummers of the 12th native infantry, and our artillery bugler, with their families (forty-one persons in all), reached Banda. The nawab gave the strictest orders in the city, that if any one molested them, he would blow him from a gun; he also gave the drummers some money. I have written to him to request him to advance them money (which I should be responsible for), as this is the rainy season, and there are no tents for the men and their families. I think it better to let them remain under the nawab's protection. Four of the bandsmen are missing, and one man remained at Nowgong; I saw him there on the 13th, and ordered him to go with some men of ours to Mahoba. He disobeyed me. The widow of a drummer long deceased, and her three children, I have not been able to learn anything about. I think they went to Jhansie with the rebels. She was of native extraction, but a Christian. It is said that the wife of Mr. Langdale died of the sun, or otherwise, on the road; and I fear another very old womam must have died too on the 19th of June: they had great difficulty in walking, the one from being very fat, the other from her great age. I fear very much they are dead. The drum-major at Banda informed me that he had left at Mutown (a large place between Kubrai and Banda), Sergeant Raite, of the artillery; Mr. Langdale, a writer; P. Johnson, a writer; and Mrs. Tiernay and her two children. The zemindar was very kind to them. I have written to the nawab of Banda to send for them, if they be not at Banda, and to advance them money. I have now accounted for all the Christians who were at Nowgong when the mutiny broke out.

"I heard it said that one Christian drummer was killed by a sowar near Nowgong. There is one that I have not seen since the mutiny, and I had set him down as killed. He is an African, George Dick by name; but I have heard from a khitmutgur, that he saw an African at Banda, so I hope the man has escaped. I have put him down as missing. No other Christian at Nowgong was killed, thank God, by the mutineers. I know that three of the four Christian drummers that I have put down as missing were not left behind; they left us on the 19th, seeking, I suppose, some way of their own to escape by. Only one native was killed at Nowgong by the mutineers—the acting havildar-major, Ahee Maun Sing, of No. 4 company: Subahdar Doolar Tewarry, invalided from the 12th native infantry, was wounded in the abdomen by a bullet on the 19th of June. I hear that he died a day or two after at Mahoba of his wound. Two sepoys were likewise wounded by the matchlockmen on the 19th of June: one was a Sikh, Kaun Sing; the other's name is Salegram Sing, grenadier company. Roderick, an artillery bugler, was wounded on the same occasion. The sepoys left at Kubrai went on to Banda. After leaving that place I know not where they went. I saw Jemadar Emam Bux there the day I entered the city—namely, the 21st of June.

"The government treasure that fell into the mutineers' hands at Nowgong, amounted to 121,494 rupees, as nearly as I can recollect. The colours of the 12th native infantry were taken. I know not what stores there were in the artillery magazine; it was entirely emptied. I rather think that the annual practice-supply had been received from Allahabad. The 12th got, in the magazines at Nowgong and Jhansie, 1,255 pounds of gunpowder for musketry, besides some barrels of coarse powder for

cannon, that was in the Jhansie magazine (the quantity is unknown to me); 360,000 percussion caps; 130,000 balled cartridges; 20,000 blank cartridges; about 10,000 carbine balled cartridges the 6th light cavalry left, though muskets were in store beyond the complement of the corps. Besides the bullocks of the battery, there were sixty-six commissariat ones at Nowgong.

"In respect to the mutiny of the left wing of the 12th native infantry, at Jhansie, I can give the following information:—Some days before it occurred, Captain Dunlop, commanding the wing, and the station of Jhansie too, sent over to Major Kirke letters from Major Skene, the superintendent, and Captain Gordon, deputy superintendent of Jhansie, informing him that they had learned from separate sources, that one Lucknum Rao, the servant of the ranee of Jhansie, was doing his best to induce the men of the 12th to mutiny. It was not known whether the ranee authorised these proceedings. Subsequent letters, from the same author, informed Captain Dunlop that spies, or agents of sedition, found great difficulty in entering his lines. Captain Dunlop, I believe, had not time to send more. He never seemed to think that there was any danger to be apprehended from the 14th irregulars. At Nowgong and Jhansie they let the infantry begin the mutiny. I believe the reason was solely that they wished to conceal the character of the movement—viz., its being a Mohammedan one. They were the most bloodthirsty when the mutiny did break out.

"I have learned the following particulars from three natives who were at Jhansie at the time of the mutiny. One of them was in the fort of the city of Jhansie with the party who defended it. The three told their tales separately at Nowgong, Mahoba, and Banda; and as they agree very nearly, I think the information is correct. Only the 7th company of the 12th native infantry mutinied on June 4th. It marched into the Star Fort, headed by an havildar, Goorbuccus, a very likely man. Captain Dunlop paraded the rest of the 12th, and the cavalry, and they said they would stand by him. Next day, June 6th, he was busy at the quarter-guard of the 12th, preparing shells (a thing he was likely to do.) He was returning from the post-office, where he had posted some letters, and was on or near the 12th native infantry parade when men of the 12th attacked and killed him and Ensign Taylor. I hope I may be permitted to mention here, that Lieutenant Ewart, who passed through Cawnpore in the end of May, on his way to Nowgong to join the 12th, was personally told by General Sir H. M. Wheeler to tell Captain Dunlop that he had reported of him to the adjutant-general, that 'he was a man for the present crisis.'

"The sowars there severely wounded, with pistols or carbines, Lieutenant Campbell, of the 15th native infantry, the only officer present with the 14th irregulars. He escaped to the city fort, pursued by sowars, some of whom were wounded by the officer inside it. Lieutenant Turnbull, of the artillery, employed in the revenue survey, failed to reach the fort. I suppose he was on foot; he took refuge in a tree; he was seen to climb it, and was shot down. Lieutenant Burgess, of the revenue survey department, and some of his English and Eurasian subordinates, had been living for some time in the city fort. On the evening of the 4th of June he was joined by Major Skene, his wife, and, I believe, two children; Captain Gordon, Madras native infantry; Dr. M'Egan, 12th native infantry, and his wife; Lieutenant Powys, 6th native infantry (canal department), and his wife and child; two ladies from Orai, relatives or guests to Captain Browne; and the English and Eurasian *employés* in the civil and canal departments, and salt excise. They employed their time, until they were attacked on the 7th, in getting provisions, and ammunition and fire-arms, into the fort; they piled stones behind the gates to prevent their being opened. They appear to have made great havoc among the assailants with rifles and guns, only one of their number being killed by those outside—Captain Gordon; he was shot through the head when he exposed himself at the parapet. A native who was in the fort said he was leaning over, pulling up a bucket some syce in the lower inclosure had filled with wheat. A native, who was in the city at the time, said he was firing at the assailants; but both agree that he (Captain Gordon) was shot in the head when exposing himself at the parapet; they all agreed that Lieutenant Powys was killed by Mussulmans inside the fort. The native who was inside the fort says that Lieutenant Powys was found by Captain Burgess and others, lying bleeding from a wound in

the neck, and was able to say that four men beside him had attacked him; the four were immediately put to death. One was a rissaldar (?) moonshee, another jemadar, and two were chuprassies; all four were employed in the revenue survey. The informant, who was in the city, said that Lieutenant Powys saw a khitmutgur of Captain Burgess's attempt to pull down the stones that closed the fort gates, and shot him; that this man's brother cut Lieutenant Powys down with his tulwar, and was instantly shot down by Lieutenant Burgess. The party at last were induced to open the gates, relying on the most solemn promises made to Major Skene, that the lives of all would be spared; they all walked out save Lieutenant Powys, who was alive, but unable to move; his wife was torn from him, and, with the rest of the Christians, was beheaded in a garden near or in the city; women and children were alike killed: the men are said to have pleaded hard for the lives of these last. The informant, who was inside the fortress, says, that Quartermaster-sergeant John Newton, of the 12th native infantry, and his wife and four little children, were alone spared, and taken with the rebels when they left Jhansie; he was a dark *half-caste;* he was received in September or October last from the 3rd Europeans.

"The ranee's troops joined in the attack; so, I believe, did the men of the salt excise. A Mr. Sturt, of that department, made his way from near Jhansie, disguised as a Hindoo; he joined our party on the 14th of June, and at Kubrai he disappeared, preferring to make his way alone as a native: his colour and knowledge of the language made this somewhat easy. I regret to say I have not since heard of him; he left us in the dark of evening without a word: he stated, that in consequence of the mutiny, he had received orders to come to Jhansie fort with all his men, and had moved along the salt boundary towards Jhansie, collecting his men as he went; but finding they mutinied, he had to flee for his life: he was told, ere he fled, that the heads of some murdered officers were being carried about the villages around Jhansie, and were then being exhibited in a village he was close by.

"Lieutenant Ryves was in command with the only native officer, Jemadar Lall Mahomed, and sixty men of the left wing, 12th native infantry, and forty sowars of the 14th irregulars. I was told at Mahoba by a man from Jhansie, that Lieutenant Ryves had been seen riding towards Lullutpore. I have no doubt he escaped.

"In conclusion, I beg to say that this report is made from memory. I had no documents or papers to refer to. All books, papers, &c., that we left in our quarters at Nowgong, must have perished in the flames. No trace of them was to be seen when I visited cantonments on the 12th and 13th of June; and I think I can safely state, that no records of the 12th regiment of native infantry exist, save such papers as have been forwarded to brigade and other officers. Descriptive rolls of many of the mutineers must exist in collectors' offices. Of the young men of four or five years' service, or less, only three I think joined the officers after the mutiny broke out.

"P. G. SCOTT, Captain.

"Commanding 12th Regiment Native Infantry—lately Interpreter, &c.

"P.S.—All the band and mess property, with the exception of a small quantity of stores, has been destroyed or carried off by the mutineers and villagers about Nowgong."

The following further report, by Captain Scott, terminates the official account of the mutiny at Nowgong. The communication is dated from Rewah, August 16th, 1857, and proceeds thus:—

"Sir,—As the senior survivor of the force recently stationed at Nowgong, in Bundlecund, I deem it my duty, Second-lieutenant Townsend being killed, to report to you the excellent conduct of the invalid subahdar, Byjnath, of the No. 4 company, 9th battalion artillery, and also of Pay-havildar Sirdar Khan, and private Seetaram (steward of the stores), likewise of that company, previous to the mutiny of the troops on the 10th of June. Some days before that date mutiny was being openly plotted in the lines of the company: these three men opposed the disaffected, and were threatened with death; they reported and gave evidence in the matter, that led to the mutiny then hatching being put a stop to for the time. Major Kirke at once promoted Seetaram to the rank of havildar, and notified, in station orders, that he had strongly recommended Sirdar Khan to Major-general Sir H. M. Wheeler for promotion to the rank of subahdar. The major wished him to supersede the existing jemadar, as useless a man as could be found;

he took advantage of the circumstance of his wife having died a day or two before, to keep out of the men's way, at a time when he must have well known mutiny was being plotted, and his constant presence necessary. The report made by the three named above made no difference; he feared to do his duty, and it was essential that he should be superseded.

"Some days after this, news came to Nowgong on the 5th of June, that the wing of the 12th native infantry, and the artillery, at Jhansie, had mutinied the day before. The troops at Nowgong were at once paraded in undress; the right wing at its own lines; the artillery company half-way between its lines and those of the 12th; the wing of the irregulars in their lines. The 12th and artillery were then separately asked if they would stand by the government: when it came to the turn of the artillery company, the old subahdar expressed at once his loyalty to government with a boldness and enthusiasm that did him high honour. It was a fine sight to see that old man of fifty years' service, struggling with the difficulty of weakened lungs and organs of speech time had impaired, to proclaim loudly a loyalty most of those about him had no great sympathy with; they, however, followed his example, and seized hold of the Queen's colour of the 12th, which was at hand, and said they would be loyal; on their return to their lines, they embraced their guns, and were enthusiastic about their loyalty. During their absence from the guns, Seetaram stood beside them with spikes and a hammer ready to spike them in case of the company mutinying. When the mutiny broke out, the whole battery was on the 12th native infantry parade, according to an order issued, when the report of the mutiny in the company was made: the 20th native infantry pickets or guards were being marched off, when the Sikhs dashed to the front, loading; many men, say thirty or forty, loaded too. They then killed their havildar-major, and rushed on the guns; the sergeant, Raite by name, drew his sword, and was fired at; I think one of the artillerymen interceded to save him. I cannot discover that they did anything to save the guns; indeed, in about a minute's time, they fired grape at tents on parade that the officers slept in, and subsequently two rounds more at the officers.

"The old subahdar, I am glad to say, escaped, and I hear that he was met at Kubrai, or Mahoba, by a nephew, and that he reached home. He is a noble old man; and I am sure that all who were at Nowgong, from the time mutinies began in the army, would say that he deserves some distinction, such as admission into the order of merit. After being invalided, he most willingly remained with the company, knowing well the danger there was of a mutiny taking place. I am sure he would have been most unwilling to go had he been allowed to do so. He did everything that lay in his power to avert a mutiny; and Major Kirke, commanding at Nowgong, thought most highly of him. I have heard that Seetaram and Sirdar Khan were caught by the men of their company, and would have been killed but for the interference of some rebels of the 12th, who said the guns could not be worked without them. I have also heard that Seetaram made his escape, and that Sirdar Khan was taken from Nowgong, tied on a charpoy, by the mutineers. The guns were captured at Futtehpore, and Sirdar Khan may have been killed on that occasion; but should he, or Seetaram, or Byjnath, ever turn up alive, I trust the facts I have related may be of service to them. Second-lieutenant Townsend wrote to the adjutant of the battalion when at Mahoba, on the 17th June, reporting the mutiny. The only members of the company then with him were Sergeant Raite, Naik Kundhya, and Bugler Roderick: no other joined Lieutenant Townsend after the mutiny.

"I some days ago reported to government the death of Lieutenant Townsend, on the 19th of June. The party who had followed the officer from Nowgong marched from Mahoba on the night of the 17th idem; on their way to Callingur, their guide led them into a trap. He brought them a little way off the road to a village (Seuroho) in the Salone district. The men in the village were ready in great numbers, grouped about the place, with long thick lattees in their hands; others were seen in the hills. It was thought they feared an attack from our party, and some pains were taken to assure them we had no hostile intention. We encamped a quarter of a mile from the village, at a long shot from the hills, and rested all the 18th. Next morning, as we were preparing just before daybreak to move off, the camp was fired into by matchlockmen.

The sepoys, numbering from eighty to ninety men, replied for a few minutes with a wild fire, as they could scarce see an assailant; and at length ten or twelve fell back, and could not be got to advance. Lieutenant Townsend waited, with Lieutenant Ewart, myself, and two or three sepoys, at a tree, firing at any men we could see. He showed the most perfect courage amid the confusion and the fire, which was brisk; and I regret very greatly to say that he was shot through the heart, and died in about half a minute, merely exclaiming, "O God, I am hit!" The main body was far off, in a hopeless and rapid retreat, that the officer was vainly trying to stop or to slacken; and I had to leave this brave young man's body where it fell. I brought away his sword, and gave it to a sepoy or havildar; but that night the men said they could not protect their officers any longer, and the latter had to ride for their lives: I thus lost the sword, I regret to say; but I secured Lieutenant Townsend's horse.

"I was station staff-officer at Nowgong, and the second officer there; and I think it my duty to say, that were Major Kirke, who commanded, alive, he would bestow high praise on Lieutenant Townsend, for the order his battery was in, and for his attention to his duties. I think he was a most promising young officer. I was at Nowgong all the time he was there, about two years. Sergeant Raite had, when I last heard of him, left a village called Muntuvo (where he had been most kindly treated from about June 20th to July 20th) for Banda. The nawab of the latter place sent for him at my request. I expect that he and Roderick the bugler, and his mother, who were kept for a long time at Banda, have by this time reached Nagode. The Naik Kundhya arrived there on the 7th or 8th instant; he and his wife were plundered on passing Mahoba on June 19th. They stayed there a day or two, and then moved on and reached Banda, where they stayed some time. I sent the naik back to bring his wife, along with the Christians of the 12th native infantry band that were at Banda, to Nagode. He was very likely to meet them on the way.

"Lieutenant Townsend and his battery received, at Nowgong, pay for April. He received a hundred rupees on the march from Nowgong. Sergeant Raite most probably received an advance of pay for May, on June 12th and 18th. I have requested the nawab of Banda to give him twenty rupees, and I do not doubt his having received them. Drummer Roderick probably received some pay on June 12th and 18th. The nawab of Banda paid him, at my request, fifteen rupees in July. Roderick was shot on June 19th. A bullet hit his head, but did not do much damage. I have been at Nagode for some time, and am leaving it. I reported in writing to the station staff, that the sergeant, naik, and drummer, would soon arrive. I gave him all the information I could about them.

"I have, &c.—P. G. SCOTT, Captain, 2nd Regiment.

"P.S.—I forgot to mention above that Kundhya Sing told me, on August 8th, that he had been paid in full for May. I then gave him twelve rupees for June. The advances given to the above-named—Lieutenant Townsend, Sergeant Raite, Roderick, and Kundhya Sing—were obtained from rajahs, on Major Kirke's receipts, and must be recovered from their pay for government. I am proceeding to Allahabad. Believing Lieutenant Townsend's father to be dead, I have written to Mrs. Townsend, inclosing the letter to Captain J. H. Barber, Leadenhall-street, requesting him to do his utmost to discover her correct address."

Thus, for the present, we close the detail of occurrences connected with the mutiny and massacre at Jhansie, and the less sanguinary outbreak at Nowgong. The reports of Captain Scott are so full and explanatory of the disastrous proceedings to which they relate, that it is unnecessary to dwell further upon these particular instances of sepoy treachery and cruelty. It may suffice to observe, that the brutal and cowardly murder of unarmed men, and of defenceless women and children at Jhansie, was but a faint foreshadowing of atrocities about to be perpetrated upon a larger scale, and a like description of victims, by the native soldiers of the Bengal army in every other district of British India exposed to their relentless vengeance.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TOWN AND STATION OF CAWNPORE; CONFIDENCE OF SIR HUGH WHEELER IN THE FIDELITY OF HIS TROOPS; EXCITEMENT AMONG THE NATIVE POPULATION; THE STATION FORTIFIED AND INTRENCHED; APPLICATION FOR TROOPS FROM LUCKNOW; 2ND IRREGULAR CAVALRY BECOME REFRACTORY; ATTEMPT TO REMOVE THE PUBLIC TREASURE TO THE INTRENCHMENTS RESISTED BY THE NATIVE GUARD; AID REQUIRED FROM THE RAJAH OF BITHOOR; NANA SAHIB'S PROMPTITUDE AND DECLARED FRIENDSHIP; TELEGRAPHIC DESPATCHES TO GOVERNMENT; PERSONAL NOTICES OF NANA SAHIB; RECOLLECTIONS OF A VISIT TO BITHOOR; UNUSUAL INFLUX OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY AT CAWNPORE; PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE; ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS FROM CALCUTTA; EUROPEAN FAMILIES CALLED INTO THE INTRENCHMENT; LAST MESSAGE FROM CAWNPORE; STRENGTH OF THE GARRISON ON THE 4TH OF JUNE.

THE events that form the subject of this and the two following chapters of the present work, stand upon record as super-eminent in the history of even Indian cruelty, pitiless and insatiable though it be, both in conception and development. It is true that barbarities unheard-of in warfare between civilised nations, have for ages tracked the paths of Moslem and Hindoo conquerors from time to time, bathing the finest portions of the beautiful country subjected to their alternate rule with rivers of blood, and the tears of suffering millions; but the past atrocities of these fanatic races fade into insignificance, when compared with the prodigious and almost indescribable outrages that are associated with the outbreak and progress of the sepoy mutiny of 1857.

We have already noticed the circumstances connected with the movement at Meerut, and the consequent destruction of life and property at that station, followed by the almost unchecked entry of the rebellious soldiery to the Mogul capital; where the second step in the ascending scale of Indian perfidy and vengeance, was consummated by the slaughter of the European residents, as well in the streets of the city as in the palace of the king, who rashly inaugurated his transient reign by a reckless outpouring of English blood. Of the retributive justice that followed the infatuated act of that phantom king—by which he doomed his race to destruction, and himself to a childless and ignominious old age of degradation and captivity—we shall hereafter speak: for the present, all thought—all remembrance centres upon the single word—CAWNPORE!

For some time before any connected details of occurrences progressing in the upper provinces of the Bengal presidency had been received in this country, the public mind had been agitated by vague rumours of calamities, of which the nature and extent were yet unknown; and society had at last become, as it were, familiarised with an apprehension of evils connected with the Indian revolt not hitherto associated with the practices of civilised warfare. The death-wail of the strong man in his agony; the expiring shrieks of tortured and outraged women; the piteous cries of mutilated and slaughtered children, had ascended from the bloody soil of Hindostan in one loud appeal to heaven and their country; and the echo of that cry now rolled gloomily and indistinctly over the distant waters, bringing with it, to the hearts and homes of Englishmen, a sense of overwhelming horrors that seemed too great for utterance—too appalling for description. At length, however, the veil was lifted from the dire mystery; and we heard of cruelties perpetrated upon unoffending and defenceless women and children, by monsters whom it had been the fatuous policy of the Indian government to pet and humour in their eccentricities of religion and habits, until the sufferance upon which the culpable indulgences were based had become looked upon as a right, and the slightest accidental infraction of it constituted a grievance to be resented by the whole native population. In the details that eventually reached this country through the official and accredited channels of communication, there stood out one name, in connection with the outrages perpetrated, so horribly distinct and isolated in its infamy, that the mind once possessed with it, could scarcely divest itself of the hideous individuality, so as to follow out the relation of scenes and achievements that at any other time would have absorbed the whole attention of the country: and of this we may be assured, that whatever other prodigies and

horrors have yet to be recorded in connection with the progress of the unprovoked revolt of the native troops of India, the atrocities of Cawnpore will for ever be regarded as an aggregation of the foulest of crimes that can disgrace humanity; while the name of the rajah of Bithoor will be execrated as an expressive symbol of the implacable enmity and devilish malignity of the treacherous race from which he sprang. In the massacres of Cawnpore the crowning barbarity of the revolt was attained: in the person of Nana Sahib, the type of a people is presented to us, whose vows of fidelity are lures to snare the unsuspecting to destruction, and whose innate malignity to the name and practices of Christianity is only to be appeased by the wholesale sacrifice of its professors.

The town and military station of Cawnpore—formerly the capital of a district similarly named, in the upper province of Bengal—is situated on the Ganges, 123 miles north-west of Allahabad, 52 miles from Lucknow, and 185 from Agra. The ancient and modern towns of Cawnpore extend, together, for nearly five miles along the bank of the river; and being built in a sandy plain, the place is, in summer, oppressively hot, and subject to the further annoyance of overwhelming clouds of dust that penetrate the very inmost apartments. The greater portion of the houses are constructed of unbaked mud; but most of the bungalows and residences of the European inhabitants are of brick or other durable materials, well furnished, and surrounded by handsome gardens. Among the principal edifices of the modern, or, as it is frequently termed, the English town of Cawnpore, are a military hospital, theatre, assembly-rooms, a church, custom-house, and gaol. A free school, established by government in 1823, located in a handsome building, possesses a yearly income equal to £420 sterling, and is well attended by native as well as European pupils. The chief promenade of the town is a noble avenue, leading from the centre of it to the race-course, near which is a spacious plain, used by the troops as a camping-ground, and for military evolutions during the cool season. The chief part of the town proper has been rebuilt since it came into the possession of the English; the old Hindoo town, adjacent, being a place of inconsiderable importance, and chiefly inhabited by the native population. Some of the mosques with which both towns are studded, yet bear traces of their pristine magnificence.

The first intelligence of the mutiny at Meerut, and of the possession of Delhi by the rebels, reached Cawnpore on the 16th of May. The garrison of the station at that time was almost without any other than native troops, the only English regiment having, a short time previously, been transferred to Lucknow; and the force under the command of General Sir Hugh Wheeler, now consisted of the 1st, 53rd, and 56th native regiments, the 2nd regiment of Bengal light cavalry, and about fifty European invalid artillerymen. The station being built on a dead level, without any fort or place of refuge in case of extremity, it was, in every respect, ill-adapted for defence, or for the protection of the European residents. When, therefore, the news of the Meerut revolt reached Cawnpore, and it became evident that the example was one likely to be followed by the native troops in other places, Sir Hugh Wheeler at once applied his resources to the preparation of a fortified position, in which, at all events, he might securely await the arrival of succours. To accomplish this, the general selected an unfinished detached building near the centre of the grand parade, intended for a military hospital, having on its north-west side a range of other buildings, and on the north-east a church, also yet unfinished: these several edifices he connected with breastworks, and surrounded the whole by an intrenchment, within which he collected ammunition, stores, and provisions, equal to thirty days' consumption for 1,000 persons; and, thus prepared, awaited the first signal of danger to remove the women, children, and non-combatants of the station, to the shelter provided.

It does not appear that General Wheeler had, up to the end of May, any serious apprehension of the fidelity of the troops under his command, although many circumstances occurred during the interval calculated to excite suspicion. The men of the 2nd light cavalry had, without orders, sent their families home; and *punchayets,* or native meetings in the lines, were of nightly occurrence: but as no appearance of an insubordinate spirit was visible among the men, nothing but increased vigilance on the part of the European officers seemed necessary. A degree of restlessness and excitement among the towns-

people had been for some time noticed, and was attributed to the news that arrived almost daily from different places in possession of, or visited by, the rebels; but it was not of sufficient importance to call for the interference of military authority.

On the 18th of May, Sir Hugh Wheeler telegraphed as follows to the secretary to the government:—"All at Cawnpore quiet, but excitement continues amongst the people." This report was answered from Calcutta, on the following day, thus:—"You are requested to begin immediately to make all preparations for the accommodation of a European force, and to let it be known that you are doing so." These instructions were, it may be presumed, designed to impress upon the native population a belief in the approach of a large body of European troops, which might possibly have the effect of calming down an agitation that had become troublesome, and was likely, if not checked in time, to end in mischief. The consequence of the irritable state of feeling among the people was at length observed in the altered demeanour of the native troops; and had the step been practicable, there is no doubt that at this time General Wheeler would have proceeded to disarm the whole of them: but with only fifty European artillerymen to enforce his orders against three regiments, besides the cavalry, he was well aware the attempt would have proved abortive, and that, in all probability, an open revolt would be precipitated. He, however, dispatched a requisition to Sir Henry Lawrence, in command at Lucknow, for a company of her majesty's 32nd regiment, to be stationed at Cawnpore until the reinforcements he imagined to be on the road from Calcutta should arrive. On the 20th of May, the report from Sir Hugh ran thus:—"All well here, and the excitement less."

Upon the receipt, at Lucknow, of the request for European troops, fifty-five men of the 32nd regiment were immediately dispatched *en route* for Cawnpore, followed by 240 troopers of the Oude irregular cavalry. This addition to the garrison arrived at its destination late in the night of the 21st of May; and its presence was most opportune, as, early on the same day, there had been some excitement among the native troops, and particularly in the cavalry regiment; which was not allayed without difficulty and much forbearance on the part of the officers. The arrival of the little force from Lucknow put an end to any further demonstration for the moment; but, as a precaution, General Wheeler directed that all the European families should sleep near the barracks of the 32nd, and that the officers attached to the native regiments should remain in the lines with their men.

In the evening of the 21st, the following telegram was forwarded by Sir Hugh Wheeler:—

"Cawnpore, May 21st, 8 P.M.—A good deal of excitement, and some alarm, prevailed last evening regarding the 2nd cavalry. That corps had sent emissaries into the camps of the three native infantry regiments, asking if they would support them in the event of an outbreak. The avowed cause of discontent was, that their horses, arms, &c., were to be taken from them, and made over to the Europeans—I need not add how entirely without foundation; but reports of the most absurd kind are constantly circulated; and one is no sooner disposed of, than another takes its place. The Europeans shall be cared for. No mention is made of the number, or when they are to be expected; the sooner the better."—About three hours after this communication the men from Lucknow arrived.

Among other causes of disquietude that prevailed at this time, was one arising from the insecure state of the public treasure, then amounting to about seven lacs of rupees, which was kept at the collectorate, situate at Nawabgunge, some four miles from the station. With a view to its preservation from budmashes and marauders, Sir Hugh Wheeler determined upon having it removed to his fortified intrenchment; and the collector, with some elephants borrowed for the purpose from the rajah of Bithoor, and an escort, proceeded to make arrangements for its removal. This, however, the sepoy guard at the collectorate would not permit, and distinctly told the officer in charge of the escort, that it should not be removed from their custody. They were then informed by the collector, that in consequence of their disobedience of orders, a European guard should relieve them from duty, both at the collectorate and magazine; but to this threat they replied—"That shall not be as long as we are alive; because in these two posts a guard of European soldiers never was, and never shall be, placed; and, moreover, if the magazine or treasure should go on command, we will accompany it."

Upon the return of the collector from

his unsuccessful mission, General Wheeler at once determined to apply to the rajah of Bithoor, Nana Sahib (whose residence was about twelve miles from the station), for assistance to protect the treasure; and the application was promptly acceded to; 300 men, of all arms, and two guns, being immediately dispatched to Nawabgunge for the purpose, and placed as a guard over the treasury and magazine. At this time the most implicit reliance was placed upon the good faith and friendly disposition of the rajah, who, on his part, "with joined hands," assured the general and his officers that he would assist them to the greatest extent of his power, in repressing any mutinous effort of the native troops. The confidence appeared to be mutual, and not the slightest idea was entertained of the treachery that, it is possible even at that moment, meditated the destruction of the whole European community.

The following telegram of Sir H. Wheeler on the 22nd, further reports the occurrences of the 21st, and announces the arrival of a European force from Lucknow, and the aid from Bithoor:—

"Cawnpore, May 22nd, 7 P.M.—Matters took a favourable turn about half-past 7 P.M. yesterday. Up to that time, it appears that an outbreak was most imminent. I placed the guns in position, and made every preparation to meet it. The danger gave way before a quiet address to them by their commandant, through some native officers. At 11 P.M., fifty-five Europeans of her majesty's 32nd regiment, and about 240 troopers (Oude irregular cavalry) arrived, sent by Sir Henry Lawrence to my aid. This morning, two guns and about 300 men of all arms were brought in by the maharajah of Bithoor. Their being Mahrattas, they are not likely to coalesce with the others. Once the Europeans from Calcutta arrived, I should hope that all would be beyond danger. I have the most cordial co-operation from Mr. Hillersdon, the magistrate. At present things appear quiet, but it is impossible to say what a moment may bring forth."

It may not be inappropriate, at this stage of the narrative, to turn aside for a moment from the direct course of events, to record some particulars relative to the personal history of the extraordinary individual who, under the name of Nana Dhoondu Pant, or more familiarly, of "Nana Sahib of Bithoor," occupies a prominent rank in the history of the mutinies of India, and has achieved for himself a reputation stained with infamy, and overwhelmed with execration.

Of the parentage of this man, and the cause for his adoption by the late rajah of Bithoor, there are various surmises; but none more likely to be a correct one than the subjoined, which is furnished by the reminiscences of an officer of distinction in the Bombay army. Upon this authority we learn, that in the estimation of the natives of Hindostan, to be sonless is the greatest misfortune that can befall a Hindoo—the Brahmin in particular—the Brahmin prince most of all. It is not merely the desire of having a successor, or of continuing the family name, that induces this feeling, but because a father whose son shall have the honour of lighting the funereal pyre, and of performing the annual "shraads" and "muntras,"* will be doubly blessed in Kylas.† Should a Brahmin be so unfortunate as to be sonless, he must adopt a son, or (if he be a rich man) sons, to perform these necessary filial offices, by which alone he can hope to enter "Kylas," and escape the transmigrations which his religion teaches him he may have to undergo, if his "shraads" and "muntras" should not be duly performed. The former rajah of Bithoor, Bajee Rao Peishwa, was in this predicament: he was sonless, and necessarily had recourse to adoption. As a Konkanee‡ Brahmin, he naturally preferred the class to which he belonged, and from amongst it adopted several boys, one of whom was the present Nana Sahib, who is by caste a "Bhutt," or poet; and the son of a poor Konkanee Brahmin. He was born at Venn (in the Nurseerapore Talooka of the Northern Konkan), a miserable little village at the foot of the mountain of Matharan, about thirty miles east of Bombay, and close to the line of the Great Indian Peninsular railway. On the adoption of this lad by the late Bajee Rao Peishwa, he was taken to Bithoor, and soon became a favourite of his patron, who died on the 28th of January, 1851; having by his will, written December 11th, 1839, declared Nana Dhoondu Pant his heir, and the sole successor to his property, out of

* Prayers and offerings for the "manes" of the departed, essential in the Hindoo theology.

† The "heavenly abode."

‡ Konkan; the tract of country lying under the Shyadree range of mountains, commonly called the "Western Ghauts."

which he was directed to provide for the rest of the Peishwa's family.

By certain treaties of 31st December, 1802, 13th June, 1817, and 1st June, 1818, Bajee Rao Peishwa had ceded to the East India Company territories producing a yearly revenue of one million sterling; in return for which, certain territorial estates and immunities were preserved to him, and an annual income of £80,000 sterling was guaranteed by the Company to him and his heirs. At the time of the Peishwa's death, a portion of this annuity, amounting to 62,000 rupees, is said to have been in arrear.

According to the Hindoo law, an adopted son is entitled to all the rights and privileges of an heir begotten of the body of the deceased; and consequently, as the adopted son of the Peishwa, Nana Dhoondu Pant was entitled to the pension guaranteed to the heirs of Bajee Rao; but his claim was disallowed by the Company, and the continuance of the allowance was peremptorily refused.* It was also notified to the Nana, that the landed estate of Bithoor, which had been granted to the late Peishwa in order to exempt the princesses of his family from the jurisdiction of the civil courts of the Company's government, would eventually be resumed by the latter; and thus, in all human probability, an intense feeling of disgust at the injustice with which he was treated, was created in the heart of Nana Sahib, and only waited a convenient opportunity for its development in a career of unrelenting ferocity.

Another attempt to supply information relative to the origin and position of this notorious person as heir to the deceased rajah, states, that "so early as June 7th, 1827, he had adopted two boys, the sons of Brahmins, who had come to Bithoor from the Deccan. The eldest of these, Sadashew Rao, who is also called Sadashew Pant Dada, was four years old at the time of his adoption, and died before the Peishwa, leaving a son, Pandurang Rao, whom the Peishwa adopted as his grandson. The second boy, Dhoondu Pant (the Nana Sahib), is called in some letters Nana Govind, and is no doubt the son of a Brahmin named Mahadeo Rao Narrain Bhutt, who is said to have come to Bithoor from a village near Matharan, at the foot of the Ghauts, on the way from Bombay to Poonah.† The child was two years and a-half old at the time of his adoption, and was subsequently preferred by the Peishwa to the rank of eldest adopted son and heir, though, in point of fact, junior to Sadashew Rao. Bajee Rao Peishwa, at his death in 1851, left two widows, Mina Bai and Sai Bai, and a daughter by each; the one named Yoga Bai, the other Kusuma Bai. His brother, Chimnaji, had likewise left a widow and daughter, and a grandson, whose guardianship Bajee Rao had taken upon himself. The Peishwa afterwards adopted a third son, Gangadhar Rao, and also a daughter; and in the disposition of his property by will, entirely passed over the natural claims of his grand-nephew, the grandson of his brother Chimnaji, in favour of Nana Dhoondu Pant, whose mother, Gunga Bai, with his brother and uncle, were received into the family of the Peishwa."

Although the fact that Nana Dhoondu Pant was not related by blood to the deceased Peishwa, must have weakened con-

* Adoption had been recognised, and its privileges granted to Scindia, Holkar, and many other chiefs by the Company; and as yet no grounds appear to justify the refusal of this sacred principle of the Hindoos, to Bajee Rao: at all events, it is a pity that the East India Company have not been consistent in their decisions upon this head. In some, indeed in very many cases (where the pensions have been insignificant comparatively), the Hindoo law has been recognised, and the claim of the adopted son granted. In other cases, where the pension has been very considerable, or the amount of territory to be "absorbed" extremely profitable, the Hindoo law has been shelved, and the claimant favoured with a letter from the secretary to government, informing him that the "governor-general in council has dismissed his petition, but the ordinary channels of redress are open to him." He sends home an agent, who haunts the India-house and the Board of Control. At both places he is "referred to the local government"—the local government which has already decided against him! Such was the case of Nana Sahib; such was the case of the rajah of Coorg; of the ranee of Jhansie, where another frightful massacre took place; and such has been the case with numbers of Indians of rank, with whom we have not dealt either wisely or well. How much of the recent calamity that has plunged half the nation into mourning can be justly attributable to this policy on the part of the Company, we may not take upon ourselves to offer an opinion without more specific knowledge of the grounds upon which, in each particular case, that policy was based. It is not for us to suggest even the shadow of an excuse for the pitiless barbarities inflicted by the disappointed heir to the Peishwa; but upon the ground stated, there certainly does appear to have been cause for resentment, which but for the fearful vengeance that followed it, might have found sympathy in this country.

† It will be observed, that both accounts agree as to the actual parentage of the individual.

siderably, in the eyes of the Company, his claim to the state allowance, it cannot be doubted that the natives of India would regard his case very differently. An adopted son is, in their eyes, in every respect entitled to all the privileges and advantages of a son; and in many instances, this principle has been recognised and acted upon by the Company: but if, as is stated in Kaye's *Memoirs of Sir John Malcolm* (by whom the grant of eight lacs of rupees per annum was originally conferred, upon the surrender of the Peishwa to the Company's arms), such grant was for life only, there certainly does not appear, in this particular instance, any real ground upon which his adopted son could complain of injustice. The exact words of the grant are as follows:—"Bajee Rao shall receive a liberal pension from the Company's government, for the support of himself and family. The amount of this pension will be fixed by the governor-general; but Brigadier-general Malcolm takes upon himself to engage that it shall not be less than eight lacs of rupees per annum." In this paragraph, which constitutes the actual title to the princely allowance, not a word appears to warrant the idea of its perpetuity beyond the life of the Peishwa; and the question of injustice, raised by its resumption by the Company, seems fairly disposed of. But there was another point from which the subject might be viewed, as well by the government as by the family of the deceased chief. The widows and daughters of Bajee Rao, with a perfect host of family connections, attendants, and followers, who were dependent upon him during his lifetime, were thus suddenly deprived of a maintenance; and many of them, at the time of the Peishwa's death, were of an age that precluded all probability of labouring for a subsistence, even if their position in life had allowed of their doing so. That the pension of £80,000 a-year was the means of supporting, not only the Peishwa and his family, but also a multitude of adherents, is proved by, among other things, the fact, that for two years at least after the Peishwa took up his residence at Bithoor, he had with him no less than 8,000 armed followers, the remnant of his army as an independent sovereign.* These retainers were afterwards materially reduced in point of number; but by the sudden withdrawal of the pension, and the refusal to pay the arrears due at the death of Bajee Rao, the widows and immediate family were thrown into a state of extreme distress; as, with the exception of the jewels belonging to the females, all the property of the deceased, amounting to £160,000, fell into the hands of his adopted heir, the Nana Dhoondu Pant. The cruelty of their position was, of course, greatly aggravated by the sequestration of the territory reserved to the Peishwa at the period of his surrender; by which act, on the part of the Company, the widows and daughters of a prince who, as a Mahratta chief, had at one time held the highest rank in Hindostan, were deprived of their most valued privileges, and rendered liable to be dragged into the law courts of the Company's government; an indignity held to be so great by natives of high rank, that many have destroyed themselves rather than submit to it. This indignity was, it is alleged, about to be wantonly inflicted upon these aged ladies, notices having been given to them to appear before the supreme court at Calcutta; and the (to them) extreme degradation was only prevented by the partial restoration of the "jaghire" for the lives of the two widows. Putting aside therefore the claim, real or imaginary, of Nana Dhoondu Pant to the allowance of £80,000 per annum, there was clearly a case of sufficient hardship established in the treatment of the Peishwa's own family, to excite a strong feeling of dislike and resentment towards the Company, on the part of the native population who were interested in their behalf. How far it may have operated to swell the torrent of cruelty and revenge that has converted Hindostan into one vast battle-field, it is not for us to say. With regard to the heir himself, it is more than possible that, when the mutiny had broken out, and the revolted troops had proclaimed the restoration of the Monghol dynasty in the person of the titular king of Delhi, that Nana Sahib, whose grievance was patent throughout Hindostan, received a "sunnud," or commission, from the king, acknowledging his adoption by the late Peishwa, and promising him the annuity, or perhaps the principality of his

* It may be remarked, in reference to this large force, that the resident magistrate of Cawnpore, who had the surveillance of the Bithoor district under his charge, uniformly reported, that during the entire period of their being assembled, no increase of crime or disorder of any kind was brought to his notice. This conduct would account for the good feeling existing between the rajah and the Europeans.

patron, on condition that he became a leader of the rebel army, massacred all the English, and, as an influential Hindoo, acknowledged the sovereignty and seconded the efforts of the king to establish the native independence of his country.

From the many accounts relating to this individual, that have been published, we select the following, as having evidence of a personal knowledge of the man. One informant says—"I knew Nana Sahib intimately, and always regarded him as one of the best and most hospitable natives in the upper provinces, and certainly one of the last men to have been guilty of the atrocities laid to his charge. As in the case with many natives of India, it may have been that Nana Sahib cultivated the acquaintance and friendship of the sahibs solely in the hope, that through their influence, direct and indirect, his grievances would be redressed. But the last time I saw Nana Sahib—it was in the cold weather of 1851; and he called upon me twice during my stay in Cawnpore—he never once alluded to his grievances. His conversation at that time was directed to the Oude affair. The following questions, amongst others, I can remember he put to me:—'Why will not Lord Dalhousie pay a visit to the king of Oude? Lord Hardinge did so.' 'Do you think Colonel Sleeman will persuade Lord Dalhousie to seize the kingdom (of Oude)? He (Colonel Sleeman) has gone to the camp to do his best.'

"So far as I could glean, Nana Sahib *wished* for the annexation of Oude—albeit he expressed a very decided opinion that, in the event of that measure being resorted to, there would be a disturbance, and perhaps a war—such as happened when Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson were murdered by the rebellious soldiery of Moolraj, at Mooltan."

Another writer, describing the incidents of a visit to Bithoor in 1853, says of the Nana Sahib:—"As I knew him well, having partaken of his hospitalities for a month, I have no doubt my recollection of him and his affairs may be interesting. In 1853 I drove over to Bithoor, about twelve miles from Cawnpore. I started in a *gharry* (a sort of fly) early on the morning of the 1st of September, and arrived at the rajah's house, or rather one built for a former commissioner. The approach to this mansion was by a very pretty rather than a grand avenue; and on the right hand side of the drive was a very neat *parterre*, kept in as good order as any of its size at home could be. On arriving at the house I produced my basket and commenced breakfast. This being a place of resort for pic-nic parties from Cawnpore, I of course at once sent off a note to the rajah, telling him of my arrival, and, as a point of courtesy, asking his sanction to my passing the day there. I had scarcely finished my breakfast when I heard the noise of horses on the fine gravel parade in front, and was somewhat astonished to see, not the humble envoy I had sent in the shape of my sirdar-bearer, but two or three individuals, accompanied by a retinue of native sowars, with drawn swords, prancing steeds, and other showy indications of Oriental military display. These individuals proved to be his highness the Maharajah's—or as he, for obvious reasons, prefers to be called, the Peishwa's—moonshee, Prang Doss-Tewarrie; the treasurer, Baba Bhutt; and another old Mahratta distinguished personage. I was then informed that his highness was delighted to receive me with cordiality and welcome, and that he had sent them formally to request my presence at his palace (the castle which is hereafter spoken of as having been burnt down by Havelock's glorious band) in the evening, when the sun had rendered it cool and pleasant for Europeans, and indeed natives, to *Owr hana*—*i.e.*, 'To eat the air.' After some conversation, interspersed with most flowery and highflown, and no doubt equally empty, compliments to my nation and countrymen in general, and my humble self in particular, my guides left me, and I amused myself in looking over the house and grounds. The former is very large, and the rooms spacious and handsome; the walls are covered with stiff odd-looking pictures of former Peishwas, and amongst them the old gentleman so ably captured by Sir John Malcolm, and the man who was the first exiled chief located at Bithoor. I must not omit to state that a khitmutgur and bavarchee reported themselves to me during the day, and requested my *hookm*—*i.e.*, commands—for dinner, as it was his highness's wish, as I might be detained until too late to travel back to Cawnpore that night, that I should sleep in the commissioner's house. And as the sun was going down, up came an elephant, caparisoned in the usual tawdry and semi-shabby-magnificent style, surmounted by a howdah of towering

height; and upon this huge animal myself and my wife were perched, and escorted by a guard of sowars in front and rear. We were marched through numberless bazaars and native streets to the stronghold of this potentate. I was asked into the august presence of the *soi-disant* Peishwa, and found him seated upon a cushion, raised somewhat in the form of a throne of state, he (the magnate) sitting as a tailor is supposed to sit. He immediately shook me cordially by the hand; and I must not omit to state that, being myself a Bahadoor—that is, of the rank of one who wears a sword—I was not required to remove my shoes in going into his presence. He, through his moonshee, asked me many questions about the queen, the nobility of England, particularly mentioning and asking after Lord Ellenborough (Burra, buhout Burra Lord Sahib), for whom—whether he knew him or not—he seemed to have a great respect and veneration. Whether this was assumed or not, I cannot say. He then asked me many questions about the Hon. East India Company, and appeared exhaustless in his queries about the Board of Control. These lasted about half-an-hour, and he then requested that I would make myself at home in his house, and remain so long as I pleased. He himself supplied me with a staff of servants, and furnished my bazaar (living and board) daily. He was, when I saw him, about twenty-eight years of age; he looked, however, at least forty. His figure is very fat; in fact, the very expression made use of by his own moonshee was, that 'his highness was a tight man' (*tring admee.*) His face is round, his eyes very wild, brilliant, and restless; his complexion, as is the case with most native gentlemen, is scarcely darker than a dark Spaniard; and his expression is, on the whole, of a jovial, indeed somewhat rollicking, character. During the time I was occupied in making my salaam to the maharajah, my wife was conducted by an attendant into the zenana. She thus describes her visit: of course this holy of holies was closed to my profane eyes:—I was ushered into a room in the most retired wing of the castle, through a series of doors, each door being closed and bolted immediately on my passage through. I arrived at last before a large and handsome quilted crimson silk curtain (*pindah*), which being drawn aside, I entered a large room, the floor of which was covered with beautifully-white linen, drawn tight, and fastened at the four corners of the room. I was introduced into this *sanctum sanctorum* by no less a personage than his highness's treasurer, Baba Bhutt, who, after introducing me, left me to commence a conversation with the apparently stolid inmates of the zenana. The walls of the room were one mass of mirrors, from the ceiling to the ground. The only furniture in the apartment were three Bareilly couches, on one of which sat a child of about seven years old, dressed in yellow gauze, the whole of whose breast was covered with pearls, to the amount of three lacs of rupees; the feet were bare; the ankles were adorned with large and heavy *bangles* (rings of gold), each worth about 5,000 rupees; the arms also were covered with the same description of ornaments of different sizes, extending from the wrist to the elbow. This young lady was very shy, hung down her head, and seemed much abashed at the formidable apparition of a European lady. She was repeatedly urged to speak to me by her companions, who said, 'Speak to the English lady.' At last she mustered up the courage to say, 'Ap ka misag, atcha hy mem-sahib?' ('Is your constitution in good order?') literally equivalent, in fact, to our 'How d'ye do?' This was said with her head turned and eyes averted, in the manner of the most coy and prim school-girl. The other two inhabitants of the zenana, or harem, were a girl of about thirteen years of age, and one about seventeen, dressed in similar style, and ornamented with similar jewellery. Such a liberal display of precious stones—at least on these ladies—failed to produce anything splendid in effect, none of the wearers being good-looking even for native women; the eldest, indeed, was repulsively ugly, with long yellow teeth. This lady, who appeared to be the spokeswoman of the party, and particularly amiable and affable, asked me my age, and in return told me her's. I was offered, by all these nymphs, native sweetmeats, &c. They asked me numerous questions about England; amongst others, 'Whether the ladies, and princes' wives (Begums), were kept behind a *pindah* (secluded) as they were?' and on my telling them that they went about with their faces perfectly visible in public, they seemed much astonished, but said it was 'Bout atcha' (very good), and seemed to imagine this would suit them

very well, although I must say that three plainer faces, I should imagine, never were secluded behind a *pindah*. Poor things, I pitied them; and after a little more conversation, under difficulties, I made my parting salaam, and, shaking hands with all round, I retired. They expressed afterwards the pleasure they derived from the interview, and the moonshee (Prang Doss-Tewarrie) often spoke of their having repeatedly inquired for me since. The two elder of the ladies, I was told, were married (*sardi*) to nephews of the late Peishwa, but had no family. They said, indeed, to me, 'Hummerah pas konch baba nay hy' (*i.e.*, 'We have no children.') This seemed to distress the elder lady much, as she appeared, and expressed herself to be, very fond of children. The most astonishing thing was, that the child of seven years old had been betrothed for some time, I was informed, to a grand-nephew of the late Peishwa, and, incredible as it may seem to European ears, was to be formally married to him almost immediately.—Thus ended my wife's interview and mine, which, though a very cordial and clamorous audience, was withal a somewhat stupid one. After it was over, we mounted an elephant and went to our new residence, which, for one month, I found very comfortable. The rajah, Nana Sahib, made his appearance about breakfast-time, and usually brought some handsome flowers or valuable fruit, and his emissaries besieged me daily with a long account of the wrongs he had experienced at the hands of the British government, by their having stopped the pension granted to former Peishwas on the demise of the late one, his reputed father, he being the adopted son. This kind of life continued for one month, at the end of which time I returned to Cawnpore."

As presenting another trait of individual character, we introduce the following passage from the narrative of an English officer, descriptive of a visit to Bithoor, in company with the rajah:—"On the way he talked incessantly, and among other things he told me was this—in reference to the praises that I bestowed on his equipage:—'Not long ago, I had a carriage and horses very superior to these. They cost me 25,000 rupees; but I had to burn the carriage and kill the horses.'—'Why so?'—'The child of a certain sahib in Cawnpore was very sick, and the sahib and the mem-sahib were bringing the child to Bithoor for a change of air. I sent my big carriage for them. On the road the child died; and, of course, as a dead body had been in the carriage, and as the horses had drawn that dead body in that carriage, I could never use them again.' (The reader must understand that a native of any rank considers it a disgrace to sell property.) 'But could you not have given the horses to some friend—a Christian or a Mussulman?'—'No; had I done so, it might have come to the knowledge of the sahib, and his feelings would have been hurt at having occasioned me such a loss.' Such was the maharajah, commonly known as Nana Sahib. He appeared to be not a man of ability, nor a fool."

Resuming the continuous thread of our history from the digression into which we have necessarily fallen, it appears that for several days subsequent to the 21st of May, matters at Cawnpore remained in the same unsatisfactory state as they had been for some time previous; and the disadvantages that surrounded the officer in command of the station, were not diminished by the presence of an unusually large number of European families, that had been attracted to Cawnpore before any serious apprehensions were entertained in connection with the mutiny, in consequence of a series of balls and entertainments given by the officers of the garrison to the neighbouring gentry, and who were now detained at the station on account of the insecurity of the roads. There were also a considerable number of Europeans and native converts employed in the civil departments of the establishment, for whom, with their families, protection had to be afforded.

On the 23rd of May, Sir Hugh Wheeler telegraphed to the secretary to the government thus:—"A calm appearance; more favourable, but not to be depended on." And on the 24th he again reported—"All is quiet here; but it is impossible to say how long it will continue so."—It is evident that the general felt he was standing upon the apex of a volcano: an irruption was certain; the time alone was doubtful; and the seeming tranquillity was but a precursor of the burning torrent then about to rush with devastating fury over the British occupants of Cawnpore.

The telegraph, on May the 25th, made the following announcement to government:—"Passed anxious night and day in consequence of a report, on very good authority, that there would be an outbreak dur-

ing one or the other; all possible preparations made to meet it; but I rejoice to say that none occurred."

On the 26th Sir Hugh Wheeler again telegraphed to the secretary of the governor-general:—"All tranquil here, and I think likely to continue. The disaffected, disconcerted by the efficient measures coolly, but determinately, taken to meet any outbreak that might be attempted, are sobering down. I have had a most anxious and tried time of it; nor is it at an end. * * * I have intrenched our position, and can hold it against large odds; but now I hope I may preserve the peace of this very important station without bloodshed."

On the following day he again reported the state of his command thus:—"Cawnpore, May 27th, 7.15 P.M.—All quiet; but I feel by no means confident it will continue so. The civil and military depending entirely upon me for advice and assistance just now, I regret I cannot find time at present to compile a detailed account of late occurrences in my division."

In this regret every one who desires a full record of this most interesting stage of the sepoy rebellion of 1857, must cordially join. The hand that alone could have traced the anxieties, the unceasing labours, the unwearying watchfulness of this lamented officer, fell powerless beneath the blow inflicted by treachery; and the mind that alone could have grasped the vivid details of the eventful period between the 16th of May and the surrender of the intrenchment, with the foul massacre that followed, escaped the agonies of remembrance from beneath the waters of the Ganges.

The subjoined extracts from correspondence are so interestingly descriptive of the position of the European residents at this station during the latter part of May, that their insertion here will need no apology. The first selected, in order of time, is from a letter of an officer attached to the 53rd regiment (Bengal native infantry.) The communication is dated May 24th, 1857, and proceeds thus:—

"There is now no doubt that at Delhi all the three native infantry regiments went over to the townspeople, and nearly all the murders we heard of have been confirmed, and some more added to the list; while in some cases, especially the 20th native infantry at Meerut, officers were shot down by the sepoys. Till within three days ago I thought there was little or no chance of our having the same to tell of this station; but although as yet there is a dead calm here, yet things do not look well. The other evening there were rumours flying about of one regiment accusing another of being on the point of rising, and fifty men of her majesty's 32nd and a squadron of the 1st, and another of the 2nd Oude irregular cavalry, all came into the station from Lucknow, a distance of fifty miles, that day. I heard of this at mess, and on going home afterwards thought for the first time of loading my pistols and putting them under my pillow (in other houses they had been sitting up all night for some time past); and this I did, turning in thereupon, and sleeping as soundly as if I had been in T—— square.

"In the middle of the night I was disturbed by a heavy thunderstorm, and my chum (Dowson) calling out that his door had been blown open, and himself nearly blown out of bed. The next morning Dowson went out alone to hear the news; but soon came back to tell me that we had had a narrow escape. It appears that in the middle of the night the general had received information that all the native regiments intended rising; he at once gave orders for the guns (we have a battery here now) to proceed at once to the barracks of the depôt of her majesty's 32nd, now here. He also sent round notice to all officers and Europeans in the city and cantonments, appointing the barracks the rendezvous, and directing all ladies to be sent there at once. The orderlies, in their excitement, I suppose, did not give this notice to a number of people, and left us out in the number; and although the artillery barracks are close to my house, yet, owing to the storm, our watchman never heard the guns move off. Nearly all the ladies in the station were, however, turned out of their houses and hurried off to the barracks. The scene in the morning you can scarcely imagine. They were all huddled together in a small building, just as they had left their houses; on each side of this the guns were drawn up, and the men had been kept standing by them all night through the rain, expecting an instant attack. There are few people now in the station but what believe this attack had been intended, and was merely delayed on finding us so well prepared.

"I still put all trust in our sepoys, and shall do so until I see they are unworthy of it. I had, of course, intended that night, or any other time, on the first appearance of

a disturbance, to go straight to my company; and on hearing of all this flight to the barracks, Dowson and myself sent a hackery to take a tent down to the camp of our regiment, intending to sleep there for the future; indeed, I believe it to be the safest place, except the barracks; for there are a number of rascals in the city anxious for a row, that they may murder and plunder at their ease; and they are likely enough to come roaming about cantonments now that they are nearly deserted; but among our men I believe we are perfectly safe; and if they do mutiny, we should, at all events, have the satisfaction of being at our posts. By that evening, however, an order was issued directing all officers to sleep in the lines or camps of their respective regiments, so we did not have it all to ourselves; indeed, our commanding officer had slept in the quarter-guard the night before. Since then Cawnpore has been in a perfect state of siege. All the ladies and non-combatants sleep in the barracks or in a chapel there is near them, in great discomfort, going home in the daytime for a little rest. Large stores of ammunition have been brought from the magazine to the barracks (32nd), where the artillery are still kept, and ten days' provisions have been laid in here. There are now here fifty artillerymen and over 100 of the 32nd, while the native artillerymen are also kept at the barracks, as it is believed they will remain true; though, as it was a company of this very battalion who went over to Delhi, I don't see how these men can be trusted much more than the native infantry. I suppose altogether, with shopkeepers, &c., added to the officers, and these 150 European troops, we should muster (supposing that we all reached the barracks) about 400. In addition to this there are two squadrons of Oude irregulars, though, as these men were only taken into our service last year when we took the country, I should not put much trust in them, in spite of their being sent over by the authorities to assist us. How long this state of things will continue it is impossible to say; but if all goes well I will continue my letter in a few days, and I hope by the time the mail goes out to wind it up by saying that we are all settled down once more.

"May 31st.—It is a week since I began this letter, which I have been keeping in the hope of being able to wind it up with some better news, but to-day I must send it off. I am sorry to say that here we are just as we were a week ago—people in the barracks all night, and nearly all day. They have surrounded it with a trench and earthen parapet, and have made all as ready as they can for a row. In the meanwhile the sepoys of every regiment here declare they are 'true to their salt,' and ask what has come to all the sahibs in the station that they are in such fear. We native infantry officers show them we trust them by sleeping in their lines every night, and we have no proof whatever that they have ever intended to mutiny; but still, how is it possible to say what they may do, when, in addition to what I told you in my last letter, we know that two native infantry regiments at Ferozepore have mutinied, and been fired into and cut up by her majesty's 61st, the artillery, and 10th (the last, being natives, behaved well); while at Lahore three native regiments have been disarmed, and do duty without arms? The 9th regiment of native infantry at Allygurh, and two other small stations between this and Meerut and Delhi, have mutinied, though without committing any of the Delhi and Meerut atrocities. In one or two of the places they have quietly taken the treasure, and in the others gone off without even doing that, simply telling their officers that they would stay no longer. By far the worst news for us has, however, come in this morning by telegraph from Lucknow, viz., that all the native regiments there, except the cavalry, have risen, and the brigadier and three other officers murdered.

"All the other regiments now in Oude are, I am afraid, certain to go, and, with the irregular regiments lately raised, there will be a tremendous force. After this, if the regiments here stand firm to their officers it will be a miracle. I am still sanguine; but since the English have been in India, except perhaps in the 'Black-hole' time, there can be no doubt that our power has never been in such danger. In the retreat from Cabul things looked bad enough; and after the battle of Ferozeshah people thought the Sikhs would be in Calcutta; but then, and always hitherto, we have been fighting against open enemies; now we cannot tell who are friends, who enemies; and the worst among the latter are the very men we have been giving arms to, and teaching them how to use them. If I were in a European corps now, I should be glad indeed to have a row with these rascals, and pay them off for Delhi and Meerut; but no officer can look forward with any

degree of pleasure to a struggle with men whom he lately commanded, and took a pride in, and implicitly trusted. Thank heaven, I am not one of the croakers here, and have never been troubled with the nervousness some people have shown; but I feel utterly disgusted with the whole army, and I only wish that I might get orders to go out with my regiment or alone with my company against some of these people, so that we could put the men to the test, and see whether they really mean to stick to us or not, and end this state of suspense. I must leave off now, and send this. If there is a row here you may be sure I will stick to my company as long as we have any chance of their obeying us. I would give a great deal to see you all again; but I would give ten times as much to have a fair fight with these Lucknow or any other mutineers, and our own regiment standing to us firmly, so that we might keep our good name amid all the disgrace the Bengal army has now fallen into."

The following passages are extracted from letters written by the lady of Lieutenant-colonel Ewart (1st Bengal native infantry), residing at Cawnpore during the period referred to. The first extract is from a letter dated May 27th.

"It is not yet the mail-day, but I am induced to write while the dâk is open to Calcutta, and we are still able to communicate, lest fresh difficulties should encompass us, and you should be left without a notion of the events of these days. It is a sad history. We are living in awful realities, and we cannot see the end of them. We were apparently safe and quiet here till the 21st, when the 2nd cavalry began to show symptoms of uneasiness, and intelligence was given that a rising of the native troops was in contemplation that night. Mr. Hillersdon, the magistrate and collector, brought his wife and children in to us in the afternoon, and we agreed all to remain together. Up to this time, no suspicion having been entertained of the troops' loyalty, no preparations for defence had been made. Now, however, all were astir. The general (Sir Hugh Wheeler) telegraphed to Lucknow for succour; the European barrack at the depôt was assigned as a rendezvous, and some families went there for safety. We, however, determined to remain at our house until further alarm was given; but Colonel Ewart said he would go and sleep in the midst of his men to show that he had confidence in them; so we had only Mr. Hillersdon to stay with us. Presently (about eleven o'clock at night) he was called away to make some arrangement, so we thought it scarcely right to remain here alone. Accordingly we took our little unconscious children out of their beds, and with the ayahs off went we in the carriage to the European barracks. There we found a number of refugees in a state of great alarm of course, but for the most part composed and resigned. It was a night of fearful suspense, yet it passed away without any disturbance, and I had the happiness of seeing my husband in the morning alive and well, and we went back to our house for the day. The danger had been imminent; but the posting of six guns in front of our barracks, the state of preparation we were getting into, and the move of the officers (at least of two) to sleep among their men, seemed to have checked the ardour of the mutinously-disposed, and they put off, without abandoning, their evil design. The next day (Friday) was one full of agony and dread; and the night was more than poor human nature, unassisted, could endure. When my husband left me that night to go to his post I never expected to see him alive again, for some of his men had been overheard wildly talking of mutiny and murder, and had made a proposal to destroy their officers! Colonel Ewart himself had made up his mind that a death-stroke would be given, yet he flinched not an instant in the performance of his duty, I am happy to say. We were preserved for that night again. I could scarcely believe that my husband's voice sounded outside the tent (for we had now arranged for a tent just outside the barrack for ourselves.) After that miserable night, the Saturday following seemed like heaven, for we went to our house and spent the day quietly there—at least with such quietness as was possible with the most terrible rumours coming in throughout the day and reviving all our saddest apprehensions. Of course we returned to the depôt at night, and, for the first time since our move, exhausted nature would be attended to, and I fell asleep for some hours, and for a time shut out all the horrid realities of our situation. All Sunday was pretty quiet. The Eed came off that day and the next, when it was expected that an outbreak would occur. It did not so, however, and on Monday morning our minds were somewhat reassured by

all the Mussulmans of the 1st regiment coming in a body, according to custom, to salaam to Colonel Ewart after their prayers, and they expressed their intentions of fidelity, &c., all of which are very well, but not to be depended on now-a-days. We returned to those melancholy night quarters; oh! such a scene. Men, officers, women and children, beds and chairs, all mingled together inside and outside the barrack; some talking or even laughing, some very frightened, some defiant, others despairing; three guns in front of our position, and three behind, and a trench in course of formation all round. Such sickening sights these for peaceful women; and the miserable reflection that all this ghastly show is caused not by open foes, but by the treachery of those we have fed, and pampered, and honoured, and trusted in for so many years. Oh! I cannot dwell upon the harrowing thoughts; I must pass on to events. News came in of the 9th native infantry having turned, Allygurh and its treasury falling into their hands; Mynpoorie still held against the rebels by the collector and his police; but Etawah gone, and the insurgents on their way here. Now we believed our crisis had arrived. The appearance of successful insurgents amongst the regiments would be the signal to rise, and all we could really depend upon for defence were our position behind our guns and the help of about 150 European soldiers, forty railway people and merchants, and a few stragglers. There are two regiments of Oude irregulars; but I am not inclined to put faith in them. There are also some Mahrattas with the rajah of Bithoor, who have come to our assistance; but I can scarcely feel a comfort at their presence either. The night passed off quietly, however, and the insurgents have not yet arrived. We are in our house. About forty-five more Europeans are expected to-day, and two guns, with seven European artillerymen. A regiment of European infantry is to come up with all speed from Calcutta; but some time must elapse ere it can arrive. The general is busy now, and he spiked the guns he could not use yesterday, and laid a train for blowing up the magazine, should an outbreak occur. We are getting provisions into our position, and making preparations in the event of being shut up there altogether. The news from Delhi makes us very anxious, for any disaster there will be fatal to us here, and India must for a time at least be lost. I need not dilate upon this terrible state of things; it tells its own tale too truly. The spirit of revolt pervades the Bengal army, and it remains to be seen whether we are strong enough to put it down, or whether we must succumb to the storm. Our only chance here is to keep things quiet until reinforcements can arrive. I cannot conceal from myself that my husband is likely to be the first to fall. He says if his regiment mutinies it may walk over his body, but he will never leave it.

"For ourselves I need only say, that even should our position be strong enough to hold out, there is the dreadful exposure to the heat of May and June, together with the privations and confinement of besieged sufferers, to render it very unlikely that we can survive the disasters which may fall upon us any day, any hour. I am going to dispatch this to Calcutta to be sent through our agents there, that you may know our situation. My dear little child is looking very delicate; my prayer is that she may be spared much suffering. The bitterness of death has been tasted by us many, many times during the last fortnight, and should the reality come, I hope we may find strength to meet it with a truly Christian courage. It is not hard to die oneself; but to see a dear child suffer and perish—that is the hard, the bitter trial, and the cup which I must drink, should God not deem it fit that it should pass from me. My companion, Mrs. Hillersdon, is delightful; poor young thing, she has such a gentle spirit, so unmurmuring, so desirous to meet the trial rightly, so unselfish and sweet in every way. Her husband is an excellent man, and of course very much exposed to danger, almost as much as mine. She has two children, and we feel that our duty to our little ones demands that we should exert ourselves to keep up health and spirits as much as possible. There is a reverse to this sad picture. Delhi may be retaken in a short time. Aid may come to us, and all may subside into tranquillity once more. Let us hope for the best, do our duty, and trust in God above all things. Should I be spared I will write to you by the latest date. As long as we can live in our house during the day, we suffer but little comparatively; but we may be shut up at any time. We must not give way to despondency; for at the worst we know that we are in God's hands, and He does not for an instant forsake us. He will be with us in the valley

of the shadow of death also, and we need fear no evil. God bless you!"

A second letter from the same lady, dated the 28th of May, says—"Yesterday we were in expectation of news from Delhi, but none arrived. All depends upon the commander-in-chief striking a successful blow there; but we hear nothing, and this suspense is dreadful. It is useless to conjecture; we must wait, and pray for strength to abide the issue, whatever it may be. John goes to his perilous duties as a soldier and a Christian should do, and keeps up an excellent spirit. Mrs. Hillersdon is sweet, calm, and gentle, and a great comfort it is to have her with me. Sometimes a message by telegraph will come in, and off he goes to the general. The other night it was an order to have the road kept open between this and Etawah, so he had to go off and send sowars (horsemen) to be posted regularly in that direction. Last night the chief of the police came to inform him that a neighbouring rajah,* with several hundred followers, was near at hand; and I believe he has come in to-day; and we hope his presence will not be the spark to raise the flame, which is kept smouldering, and which may die out if we are not molested or excited, and meet with no calamities from the north-west. You see, my dear sister, that we are living face to face with great and awful realities—life and property most insecure, enemies within our camp, treachery and distrust everywhere. We can scarcely believe in the change which has so suddenly suspended all the pleasant repose and enjoyment of life. Here we are almost in a state of siege, with dangers all around us—some seen, some hidden. We can only put our trust in God, and try to maintain an even and tranquil spirit to go through all our trials and perform all our duties as long as God sees fit to assign us any. Major Hillersdon joins us daily at our four o'clock dinner, and we stay together till half-past seven, when we go to our melancholy night quarters, behind guns and intrenchments. My husband betakes himself to his couch in the midst of his sepoys, and you can fancy the sort of nights we have to pass. These are real trials, but we have not experienced much actual physical suffering yet. John still hopes to hold his men together, so does Major H. his: indeed, no commandant seems to believe that his men can be false. But, alas! the most trusted have proved the worst, and there is not any dependence to be placed upon them. I cannot write any more. If we should be spared I hope we may have better news to give you before long. Kiss my darling H. for us, and may God bless him. John sends his best love. If peaceful times should ever return, we may hope to find pleasure in reading as well as in writing to acknowledge it. Give my love to M., and tell her how strangely we are situated."

Again this lady writes on May 30th:—"We received your letter of April 18th yesterday, just before setting off for our night quarters, behind guns and intrenchments, and we read it together by the last gleams of daylight in my dressing-room, feeling strangely and sadly the contrast between your peaceful even life and the terrible state of disorganisation by which we are surrounded. Nothing fresh has happened since I dispatched my letter *viâ* Calcutta. We are still free to spend our days at home, and no outbreak is at present apprehended from any of the troops here; our danger lies now in what may come from outside. The anxiety about the commander-in-chief's proceedings in Delhi becomes very intense, because we hear nothing material from him, although we hoped to have heard of the blow being struck some three days ago. Of course this suspense is very painful, and keeps minds uneasy. Our European force is meanwhile increasing by arrivals from Calcutta; but, after all, we shall not have above 300 English soldiers, and they may have to cope with 3,000 natives should an attack be made. But it is useless to speculate upon what may happen. We can only take the present as it comes, and do its duties and meet its trials in the best spirit we can maintain. We are more cheerful, in spite of the great anxiety and suspense; our family party is really a charming one, and we feel better able to meet difficulties and dangers for being thus associated. Dear Mrs. Hillersdon is so quiet, and gentle, and calm—never giving way to hysterical impulses, nor, on the other hand, showing any want of sensibility. I hope we may have some better news to give you before the letters go. Some small items of intelligence are rather cheering. The 29th native infantry are said to be behaving quite loyally at Moradabad. From Lucknow we have heard of the capture of four or five emissaries of rebellion by a sepoy of the 13th native infantry; so we hope some may be stanch,

* Nana Sahib of Bithoor: see *ante*, p. 301.

after all, and that the rebellion being so ill arranged, and there appearing no leader and no concert, it may die out soon and we may be at peace again. Still we are here in a most uneasy state, and are fortifying our position and laying in provisions to provide against a siege. It is a lamentable position for the governing class of a country to be in, exceedingly humiliating and disheartening; yet we must hope for better days, and in the meantime do our duty and trust in God. Several parties of the mutineers have been caught in this district with plunder upon them. Mr. Hillersdon has them confined in his gaol. Two of the 3rd cavalry are just brought in. We feel it rather dangerous work."

On Sunday, May 31st, Mrs. Ewart again writes:—"The crisis is apparently near, and all we can do is to pray for courage and strength to meet it. The troops have mutinied at Lucknow; several officers have been killed, and some wounded. This happened last night. But the second message said that all was quiet; nothing further had occurred but the burning of bungalows. The blow has not yet been struck at Delhi; there is great delay about a battering and siege-train. Not till the 9th are we to expect news, and God only knows what will become of us before that time. I am grieved to have such sad news to send you, but it is useless to shut our eyes to the dreadful probabilities. We must meet them, and implore our Father in Heaven to enable us to keep up a firm and tranquil spirit.

"I cannot write to dear Harry this time. If I am spared another fortnight I hope it may be to give brighter accounts. We are in our bungalow to-day, but hold ourselves ready for instant flight. Should the mutiny break out, dear John must be among his men, first and foremost in the endeavour to restrain them; and I, with Mrs. Hillersdon and the babes, must repair to the depôt. Whether we can hold out there remains to be seen. At any rate, dearest A——, we cannot hope to weather the storm without disaster; so let us be prepared. I cannot answer your dear, kind letter. It gives us immense comfort and satisfaction to have your assurance of kind intentions with regard to our poor little ones. If we live over this crisis we shall say more about it. If these are my last words to you, my dearest sister, be assured that we think of you with most grateful and affectionate feelings, and that we consign to your charge our dear boy with the utmost confidence that you will ever be a mother to him and do your very best for him. My sweet one here will share whatever is my fate, most likely, and that I trust to our Almighty Father, without venturing to look forward beyond the present hour. I am so glad that John is writing, for I am sure it will be more satisfactory to you having a few lines from him. He is admirable, under these painful circumstances—only desirous to do his duty, and to trust in God for the issue. I think we should all be very thankful for this, and feel great comfort in the reflection that he has done all that he could do as a noble man and soldier, and in a fine Christian spirit. I have little more to say; indeed, I cannot write anything else on these harrowing subjects. Much love to you, dearest A——, and to all dear friends and brothers and sisters."

An extract from a letter of Lieutenant-colonel Ewart, written from Cawnpore on Sunday, the 31st of May, will appropriately conclude these interesting passages.

"We are in the midst of the most imminent danger. My letter of the 19th inst. told of the outbreaks at Meerut on the 10th, and Delhi on the 11th inst. We were in hopes that the commander-in-chief would have got together a sufficient force of European troops and guns at Umballah by the 18th inst., and (that being eleven marches from Delhi) by making forced marches, might have reached Delhi by the 23rd or 24th inst. That hope has now been dispelled. After remaining in a state of painful suspense and entire ignorance respecting the commander-in-chief's movements, our general (Sir Hugh Wheeler) yesterday received a telegraph from the lieutenant-governor of Agra, conveying authentic information that the chief, having to wait the arrival of heavy guns from Phillour, cannot arrive before Delhi until the 9th of June. This loss of time is proving most disastrous. It is all we can do to keep our men in order. We hope that the recapture of Delhi will put a stop to these incomprehensible risings of the troops. But, in the meantime, if we succeed in keeping the native troops in Cawnpore quiet, I confess it will be little short of a miracle. We have now about 120 European infantry and one company of European artillery at Cawnpore; and with these and our six 9-pounder guns, the general has taken up a position in some barracks, having thrown up an intrench-

ment round these barracks. Within that intrenchment I have got a tent pitched, and E—— and the baby and our guests, the Hillersdons, go there every evening to sleep and pass the night. Hitherto we have ventured to bring them home during the day to our house, which is within half a mile of the intrenchment. The heat is so fierce in tents at this season of the year, that it is well to spare them from it as long as we possibly can. But many people remain all day in the intrenchment, some in tents, some in barracks—the latter crowding and inconveniencing the European soldiery and their families. I and my officers continue to sleep in the quarter-guard of the regiment, which we have done ever since the night of Thursday, the 21st inst. We began it that night; and a day or two after, the brigadier, by the general's desire, ordered all the officers of each regiment to sleep in the lines of their respective regiments. I have also an officer on duty in the lines during the day; but I have not yet thought it necessary to spend the day there myself. It is important to show no distrust or suspicion of our men; therefore, as much as possible, things go on in their usual course. The sleeping among them at night has the effect of reassuring them, by trusting our lives to their safe keeping, and also of aiding the well-disposed to hold in check the ill-disposed. They have not yet heard the news which we received by telegraph, of the *émeute* last night at Lucknow—at least, I do not know that they have yet heard it; but it cannot be long concealed from them, as Lucknow is only forty or forty-five miles from Cawnpore. What effect the news will have upon them remains to be seen.

"Noon.—The general has had a telegraph from the lieutenant-governor of Agra, to say, that in consequence of the two companies at Muttra (three marches north of Agra) having mutinied and plundered the treasury there—which two companies belonged to one of the native regiments at Agra—he (the lieutenant-governor) resolved upon disarming the native regiments at Agra, which operation he has successfully accomplished. We have not a sufficient strength of Europeans here to venture upon this step; nor do I think Sir H. Lawrence will venture on it at Lucknow. But Sir H. Wheeler has (to-day) received a letter from Lord Canning himself, by which we learn that European troops are arriving from Madras and Ceylon, and Burmah; and that Lord Canning is pushing them up the country as rapidly as possible—some twenty men a-day by dâk carriages, and some a hundred men a-day by bullock-train carts. If the journey of these detached parties is not interrupted by risings between Calcutta and this, we may hope to have our hands strengthened in a few days. The treasury here, containing some ten or twelve lacs of rupees (£100,000 or £120,000), is situated five miles from this military cantonment. It has been hitherto thought inexpedient to bring the treasure into cantonments; but the general has now resolved on making the attempt to-morrow. Please God, he will succeed. He is an excellent officer; very determined, self-possessed in the midst of danger, fearless of responsibility—that terrible bugbear that paralyses so many men in command. You will be glad to know that I have had the good fortune to give him entire satisfaction, by my conduct and arrangements in the command of my regiment during these troubles. He has heaped praises on me. If the troops should break out here, it is not probable that I shall survive it. My post, and that of my officers, being with the colours of the regiment, in the last extremity some or all of us must needs be killed. If that should be my fate, you and all my friends will know, I trust, that I die in the execution of my duty. And you and my brothers will be kind to E—— and my children. I do not wish to write gloomily, but there is no disguising the fact that we are in the utmost danger; and, as I have said, if the troops do mutiny, my life must almost certainly be sacrificed. But I do not think they will venture to attack the intrenched position which is held by the European troops. So I hope in God that E—— and my child will be saved. The Hillersdons and their two children have been staying with us since the 21st, when the danger became imminent, as it was no longer safe for them to remain in their own house, four miles from this cantonment. E—— sent you a letter, *viâ* Calcutta, on the 28th, which you will receive at the same time as this, I hope. And now, dear A——, farewell. If under God's providence this be the last time I am to write to you, I entreat you to forgive all I have ever done to trouble you, and think kindly of me. I know you will be everything a mother can be to my boy. I cannot write to him this time, dear little fellow.

Kiss him for me. Kind love to M—— and my brothers."

The worst forebodings of the gallant officer and his amiable lady were realised. The former, who was severely wounded while defending the intrenchment, ultimately perished in one of the boats provided by order of Nana Sahib, on the 27th of June. His lady and child were, it is believed, among the victims that sanctified the martyrs' well at Cawnpore, during the massacre of the 17th of July.

Returning to the incidents of the station, it appears that, on the 30th of May, two companies of her majesty's 84th regiment arrived at Cawnpore, having been pushed forward by extraordinary exertion from Calcutta. The accession of this valuable force enabled Sir Hugh Wheeler to relieve himself from one cause of anxiety, which had arisen from the unsatisfactory behaviour of the troopers of the Oude irregular cavalry, sent to him as a protection, whose altered demeanour had excited suspicion, and occasioned considerable embarrassment to their officers. Availing himself, therefore, of a report that had reached the station respecting the appearance of straggling bands of marauders, by whom the dâks were intercepted, and travelling was rendered dangerous, the whole of the Oude irregular horse were ordered from the station, ostensibly to protect the road communications between Cawnpore, Agra, Benares, and other places; but, in reality, that they might be got rid of without exciting suspicion of the cause that rendered their absence desirable. The *ruse* succeeded, and the troopers, in obedience to orders, marched from the station. That they did not march too soon may be gathered from the fact, that almost immediately afterwards they murdered their European officers, and, after committing various outrages and depredations on their route, joined the rebel force at Delhi. The departure of these men enabled Sir Hugh Wheeler to dispense with the fifty men of her majesty's 32nd regiment, which had also been sent to his assistance from Lucknow as before mentioned, events having occurred at that station which made their return to it desirable.

Quiet, such as it was, now prevailed in Cawnpore: it was not, however, such quiet as warranted a reliance upon its truthfulness or its duration; and it might possibly be, that with a due appreciation of its questionable worth, General Wheeler, on the 31st of the month, communicated as follows with the government secretary:—

"I would recommend Europeans to be sent up to this place as rapidly as possible. Not so much for our own protection, as—to use the exact words of the major—'this place is the trunk, and the surrounding stations are the limbs; and if Cawnpore remains right, the other places will do so also.' We are all right as yet, and I hope may continue so."

On the 1st and 2nd of June, nothing occurred to indicate an approaching crisis; and, on the 3rd, General Wheeler reported by telegraph thus:—"All quiet, but subject to constant fits of excitement."—So little, however, did he think of the excitement, and so confident was he of the sufficiency of his resources in case of disturbance, that, on the same day, he reciprocated the good offices of Sir Henry Lawrence, by detaching to his assistance a full company of his late reinforcement from the 84th regiment, and announced the removal by the following telegraphic message:—

"Sir Henry Lawrence having expressed some uneasiness, I have just sent him by dâk gharries, out of my small force, two officers and fifty men of her majesty's 84th foot. Conveyance for more not available. This leaves me weak, but I trust to hold my own until more Europeans arrive."

On the morning of the 4th of June, it was known at Calcutta that the telegraphic communication between Cawnpore and Agra was broken, and also that the Oude irregular cavalry, sent out by General Wheeler on the 30th of May to protect the roads, had mutinied and destroyed their officers. The message of the 3rd of June appears to have been the last received by telegraph from the ill-fated station of Cawnpore, as, in the official summary of events connected with the various stations of the Bengal presidency, transmitted by the Indian government to the court of directors, we find, under the head of Cawnpore—"Nothing heard from this place since the 4th instant:" and, in a despatch of the 18th of June, from the officer commanding at Benares to the secretary to the government, it is stated, that "the last report from Cawnpore was, it was in our hands; I have heard nothing from Sir H. Wheeler; the road from this to there, quite closed."*

* See Parl. Papers, Sess. 1857. It is quite clear that the "last report" here referred to, must have

During the night of the 3rd of June, circumstances had occurred in cantonments that induced General Wheeler, on the following morning, to order that the European officers of the light cavalry, and of the 1st and 56th regiments, should discontinue to sleep in the lines; but the conduct of the 53rd regiment being satisfactory, the officers of that corps were permitted, at their own request, to remain with their men. In the course of the day, an unexpected and welcome accession to the strength of the force was occasioned by the arrival of Lieutenant Ashe, of the Bengal artillery, with a battery of Oude horse artillery, consisting of two 9-pounders and a 24-pounder, with ammunition, &c., and some gunners. This officer had been compelled to retire on Cawnpore, in consequence of the mutiny and dispersion of a detachment of troops under his command while on the march to Futteghur, leaving the guns in his possession. The intrenchment being now finished, the guns of Lieutenant Ashe were placed in position, and formed a valuable addition to the means of defence. As evening drew near, it became perfectly evident that an outbreak was contemplated, and that the crisis would not be much longer delayed. Sir H. Wheeler, therefore, hastily completed his preparations for the accommodation of the females and non-combatants of the station, and ordered that they should be immediately collected within the fortification. At this time the force under his command, exclusive of native troops, consisted of eighty-three officers of various regiments, attached and unattached; sixty men of the 84th, and seventy of the 32nd regiments; fifteen of the 1st Madras fusiliers, and a few invalid gunners; the whole defensive force comprising about 240 men and six guns. There were also within the intrenchments a number of ladies and children, comprising the families of several of the officers and visitors to the cantonments, of whom there is no numerical record extant. In addition to these, were sixty-five women and seventy-six children belonging to the soldiers, and a number of civilians employed in various government departments at the station, with their families also: swelling the aggregate amount of women, children, and non-effectives, in the intrenchment at Cawnpore on the night of Thursday, the 4th of June, to somewhere about 870 persons.

It will be observed, that the position fortified by Sir Hugh Wheeler, and thus occupied, was situate without the town of Cawnpore, and at a distance from the native lines. The European officers had, for their personal safety, been withdrawn from the latter, and, consequently, the troops were left at liberty to arrange and mature their rebellious projects without the check that the presence of their officers might have imposed upon them; and they lost no time in availing themselves of the (to them) favourable opportunity.

CHAPTER XVII.

DESERTION OF THE 2ND BENGAL LIGHT CAVALRY; THE THREE INFANTRY REGIMENTS MUTINY, AND LEAVE THE CANTONMENTS; THE LINES PLUNDERED AND DESTROYED BY FIRE; SEIZURE OF PUBLIC TREASURE; NANA SAHIB JOINS THE MUTINEERS AT NAWABGUNGE WITH SIX HUNDRED MEN; ORDERS FOR THE REGULATION OF THE REBEL ARMY; RETURN OF THE REBEL TROOPS TO CAWNPORE; TREACHERY OF THE OUDE ARTILLERYMEN; THE EUROPEAN GARRISON SUMMONED TO SURRENDER; ATTACK UPON THE INTRENCHMENTS REPULSED BY SIR HUGH WHEELER; MASSACRE OF THE EUROPEANS DETERMINED UPON; THE TOWN OCCUPIED AND PILLAGED BY THE REBELS; NARRATIVE OF MR. SHEPHERD, AND OF A NATIVE OPIUM MERCHANT; REBEL INTELLIGENCE PUBLISHED IN CAWNPORE; DIARY OF A NATIVE; ATTACK CONTINUED NIGHT AND DAY; ESCAPE OF A MESSENGER FROM GENERAL WHEELER, WITH DETAILS OF HIS POSITION.

THE concentration of the European residents within the shelter of the intrenchments, had not been required one moment too soon; for as the hour of midnight

been the one already mentioned in the periodical summary of events transmitted to the court of directors, as communication by telegraph had then ceased, and Cawnpore was not in "our hands" from the 6th of June until the triumphal entry of General Havelock on the 16th of July.

approached on the 4th of June, unusual bustle was exhibited in the lines occupied by the troopers of the 2nd Bengal light cavalry, who had already been quietly occupied for some days in making arrangements for an outbreak, in which they expected to be joined by the men of the three native regiments. Finding, however, that they could not prevail upon the latter to co-operate in the movement, they resolved to act independently, and by themselves; but in order to avoid the possibility of a collision with those whom they were certain would ultimately follow their example, they fabricated a personal grievance, which, for the honour of the corps, it was alleged the men were bound to resent; and upon a plea of some imaginary slight by their officers, the whole troop assembled in a tumultuous manner, and, about two o'clock in the morning of the 5th, mounted their horses, and with loud shouts of hatred and defiance, marched out of their lines, each man having with him his arms, ammunition, and two horses. Previous to quitting the lines, these men, from some personal dislike to their quartermaster-sergeant, set fire to his bungalow, and halted a short time to exult over the destruction of his property. They then proceeded to the commissariat cattle-yard, took possession of the government elephants kept there, and finished their morning exploits at the cantonments, by wantonly destroying the residence of the cattle-sergeant. The main body of the troopers then proceeded, without further delay, towards Nawabgunge, where, as before mentioned, the public treasure was kept, under the protection of a guard furnished for the purpose by the rajah of Bithoor. Others of the corps found their way to the lines of the 1st regiment of native infantry, to try the effect of their eloquence upon the impulsive temperament of their more tardy associates in the rebellious work; and they were not mistaken in the expectation they had formed of the probable result.

In less than half-an-hour after the departure of the cavalry, the men of the 1st regiment broke into open revolt, and, with wild shouts and clamour, also left the lines, but without destroying any property, or inflicting personal injury. The noise occasioned by their desertion, gave an alarm to the troops in the intrenchment, and a gun was fired to announce that the latter were on the alert in case a surprise should be attempted. None, however, appeared at this time to have been contemplated, and the 1st infantry followed the light cavalry in the direction of Nawabgunge. Their departure was a signal to the vagabonds and budmashes of the town, who poured into the abandoned lines, commenced plundering in every direction, and completed their mischievous frolics by firing the adjacent bungalows, after despoiling them of every vestige of useful property.

As morning advanced, a reconnoitring party was sent out by General Wheeler, to ascertain the real state of affairs at the cantonment; and upon its return to the intrenchments, the Oude horse battery brought in by Lieutenant Ashe, and a company of the 84th regiment, were ordered out in pursuit of the mutineers. The little force had not proceeded far before it was recalled, in consequence of an apprehension that the men of the 53rd and 56th regiments, who were still in their lines in rear of the intrenchment, might take advantage of the absence of the pursuing party, and attack the position, which the few remaining Europeans were not sufficient to defend.

Between eight and nine the same morning, the native commissioned officers belonging to the two regiments (about thirty-five in number) waited upon the general, and reported that the whole of their men were in a state of insubordination; that they had been tampered with by the sowars; and that remonstrances were unavailing to induce them to return to their duty. While the officers were yet communicating with the general, a bugle sounded, and presently afterwards both regiments formed into columns upon their parade-ground, from whence parties were detached to collect whatever valuable property might be found in the officers' bungalows and public buildings attached to the lines of the two regiments; those of the cavalry and 1st regiment having already been cleared out and destroyed by the town rabble. The work of collection having been pursued for some time, the men of the 53rd and 56th regiments improved upon the example furnished by their compatriots of the 2nd light cavalry and the 1st infantry, by plundering the regimental paymaster's chests, the contents of which they distributed; and by carrying off the plate belonging to the officers' mess, and the colours. They also made a pile of valuable furniture, books,

&c., belonging to the European officers and their families, and set fire to it in the sight of the owners of the property, who were powerless to rescue it from wanton and unprovoked destruction; and then, after making some threatening demonstrations in view of the intrenchments (which, however, they did not attempt to put in execution), they were dispersed by a couple of shots from the long gun in position, and, without further delay, followed the route of their comrades, whom they speedily joined at Nawabgunge.

The native officers of these regiments were then ordered, by General Wheeler, to take up their quarters in the artillery hospital barrack, on the east side of the fortification, and to intrench themselves there: they were also desired to endeavour to use their influence among the sepoys and non-commissioned officers, that such of them as were unwillingly drawn into the mutinous outbreak, might retrace their steps before it became too late for pardon. The officers were energetic in their protestations of loyalty, and affected great distress at the disgrace inflicted upon their regiments by the bad conduct of the men, whose repentance for their unsoldierlike conduct they declared themselves sure of. They left the intrenchment upon their proposed errand of reconciliation, and were no more seen until found in the ranks of the assailing force—false to the very core: the last act of their military existence, in the Company's service, was one of perfidy.

As soon as it was ascertained that the mutineers had entirely withdrawn from the cantonments, carts were dispatched to the lines, under a sufficient escort, to collect whatever might have been left of the arms of men on leave, or stores, baggage, &c., and also to secure any stragglers that might be met with. The Christian native drummers of the different corps had already, with their families, sought protection in the intrenchment, into which some sick in the town hospital were now brought for safety. The consequence was, that the buildings within the fortification became overcrowded, and the inconvenience resulting was indescribable. Many of those who had found an asylum in this fortified position would, from ignorance of the real danger without, gladly have risked the chance of unknown evils, so they might escape the intolerable annoyances of the overcrowded and overheated quarters assigned them, which however, few were destined to leave but for a premature and unhallowed grave.

At five in the evening of this day of trial and excitement, the officers and men were told-off in sections, and appointed to different posts as sentries; the civilians capable of bearing arms were also mustered, and directed to supply themselves with weapons from a store brought in from the bells of arms in the lines: they were then provided with ammunition, and placed under the orders of competent officers, whom they were directed to obey; and the internal arrangements of the position being now complete, Sir Hugh Wheeler anxiously awaited the arrival of succours to relieve him from the difficulties that surrounded him, and those who looked up to him for protection and deliverance.

From the cantonments at Cawnpore the first division of the mutinous soldiery proceeded, as we have related, to Nawabgunge, where they were speedily joined by the two regiments, which, it may be supposed, had only delayed their departure from the lines for the purpose of holding the Europeans in check, in the event of their leaving the intrenchment to protect the treasure at the collectorate, which it was a primary object of the rebels to secure for themselves. The Mahratta guard, sent for its protection by the rajah of Bithoor, offered no opposition whatever to the proceedings of the mutineers; and, in a very short time, the greater part of the money was packed in bullock-carts, and upon elephants, for transmission to Delhi. While this matter was in progress, messengers were dispatched from the rebels to the rajah, Nana Sahib, then residing at Bithoor, announcing their determination to march to Delhi, and their desire that he would place himself at their head. The wish of the mutineers was readily acceded to by the rajah, whose arrival at Nawabgunge, with 600 men and four guns, was shortly afterwards announced with great demonstrations of satisfaction. No time was lost in assuming the command of the whole force; and, as a mark of his approval of the conduct of the men, so much of the treasure as remained to be packed at the time of his arrival, was, by his order, distributed among them. The collector's cutcherry was then set fire to, and destroyed, with the public records, and whatever else it contained. This feat accomplished, the soldiers proceeded to the magazines, near which they halted while

carts and other vehicles were procured from the neighbouring villages. Upon their arrival, they were loaded with baggage (plunder) and ammunition; and about five in the afternoon, the main body commenced a march to Kulleanpore—the first stage on the route from Cawnpore to Delhi; where a halt was commanded, to enable the cavalry and others, left behind at Nawabgunge to blow up the magazines and fire the bungalows, &c., to join and resume the march.

During the halt at Kulleanpore, the officers of the rebel force were addressed by Nana Sahib, who recommended that the march to Delhi should be postponed until they had accomplished some achievement that would favourably distinguish them in the estimation of the king. Turning to the men, he said—"You have received seven rupees from the Feringhee raj. I will take care you shall henceforth have fourteen rupees, and I will supply you all with food; but you must not go to Delhi yet. Stay here a little time, and your name will be great. Kill all the English in Cawnpore first, and I will give you each a golden bracelet." The men expressed their assent to this proposition by acclamation. A subahdar of the 1st regiment was then appointed general of the army, and second in command to Nana Sahib; the havildars and naiks (sergeants and corporals) were made captains, lieutenants, and ensigns; and the following orders were issued to promote the efficiency of the troops:—

"*Proclamation for the Ordering of the Army.*—In every regiment, whether of horse or foot, there will be a colonel commandant and major, second in command, as well as adjutant. The duties of the commandant are to command his corps, to make known the orders of the sirkar's will, and to arrange all batteries and fights, when the orders of the sirkar will be performed. The second in command is below him, his companion in council and command, and when anything happens to the commandant he will take his place. The adjutant will take charge of the drills and parades of the regiment, and of such things as of old have been the custom for the adjutant to take charge of. The office of the quartermaster likewise pertains to him; and as the quartermaster was accustomed to take care of the magazine and ammunition that no one might injure them, and to keep an account of the quantity held by each sepoy, so shall he do: should there be any deficiency in the counting of them, and they are otherwise expended than in the service of the state, then he will be convicted of a fault. The Company allowance of fifty rupees shall be given to the subahdar of the company: thirty rupees for command; and from the twenty for contract shall be kept up a cobbler and a smith; and those who work for the accoutrements of the company shall be paid; and there shall be a moonshee; and ten subahdars who receive the allowance shall, among them, keep up a moonshee of their own, who, on the completion of the month, shall make out the muster-rolls and pay-abstracts of the ten companies, and sign them; he shall then give them to the adjutant. In the adjutant's office the meer moonshee, and two mohurrirs allowed him, will see that all is correct; when, having arranged the papers, he will send them to the commissariat officer. Having been prepared, then they will come to the government, which will deliver the pay. At all courts-martial the meer moonshee will write the proceedings and the opinion of the court, and the members having signed, then they will be sent to the commanding officer, who will forward them to the brigadier, by whom they will be laid before government, which will confirm or disapprove, and publish accordingly. The meer moonshee's pay shall be fifty rupees, and each mohurrir's ten rupees; and the adjutant shall be one of the ten subahdars, who will receive the allowance of adjutant in addition to his pay as subahdar. Of the two mohurrirs, one shall attend at four o'clock, to write such orders of the government as there may be, when he will take them to the adjutant's office, whence they will be made known to the regiment. To these officers for that twenty rupees shall be given. The major and colonel are separate. Their pay shall be separately drawn for, and other subahdars appointed in their places; and the sirkar will advise and determine their pay, as well as the allowance to the adjutant, which will be drawn for accordingly.—(The first orders are these.)

"In the artillery, infantry, and cavalry, there shall be four commanding officers. The pay of a colonel shall be 500 rupees, and his allowance, 250 rupees; the major's pay shall be 500 rupees; and the adjutant's allowance, in addition to his pay as a subahdar, shall be 150 rupees. The quartermaster also shall have 150 rupees, in addition to his pay as a subahdar, both of whose duties he is to do.

"Should any man of the cavalry, artillery, or infantry be slain in battle, on his account a life pension shall be granted at once to his son, or his wife, or his mother, or his sister, or his daughter. If he is wounded and unfit for service, he shall have a life pension agreeably to the regulations; and if fit for service, he shall be ready at his own house when called on. Whoever becomes old in the service shall have a pension according to the regulations; and the pay which is established at Delhi shall also be given here, from the date that the army has belonged to the state.—13 *Zekaida*, 1273 *Hijra*."

The same evening the golundauzes of the Oude horse battery, brought into the intrenchment by Lieutenant Ashe, exhibited a spirit of insubordination that required instant repression. General Wheeler, who had already sufficient cause for disquietude, no sooner received the report of their misconduct, than he paraded his Europeans, who quietly took possession of the guns, and having surrounded the refractory golundauzes, they were deprived of their arms, and turned out of the intrenchment. Enraged at this treatment, the ejected men made all haste to Kulleanpore, which they

reached in the course of the night, and reported themselves to the chief (Nana Sahib), to whom they represented the strength and available points of General Wheeler's position, and the advantage to be derived from quickly getting possession of the guns, ammunition, &c., in the fortifications, as well as of several boatloads of shot and shell lying in the canal, for transmission to Roorkee. A council of the officers was immediately held; and the information of the golundauzes being strengthened by the reports of some of the native officers (who, the same afternoon, had left the intrenchment on a pretence of bringing the mutineers back to a sense of duty), an attack upon the position was determined upon; and the troops received orders to march upon Cawnpore during the night. This retrograde movement was quietly effected; and early in the morning, the little garrison received intelligence that the mutineers, with Nana Sahib at their head, had taken up a position on the plain of Sonahdah, about two miles to the west of the intrenchment, and were making preparations to attack them. This appears to have been the first intimation received by Sir Hugh Wheeler, of the treachery of the Bithoor rajah. It should be observed, that at the council of officers held the preceding night at Kulleanpore, it had been determined that, upon the return of the rebel force to Cawnpore, all Europeans and native converts should be searched for and destroyed.

The first act of the rebel leader was to dispatch a summons to General Wheeler, requiring him to surrender the intrenched position and town to the forces of the king of Delhi; the next, to carry into effect the resolution of the council of the preceding night. For this purpose, fifty troopers of the 2nd light cavalry were dispatched to the cantonments, to ferret out and destroy such Europeans or native *employés* as might yet lurk among the ruins of their property in that quarter; while a similar number of horsemen were sent into the town itself to accomplish a like purpose. A strong body of the Nana's force then advanced towards the principal gate of the town, and, amidst much display of military parade, raised two standards, as rallying points for the disaffected among the native inhabitants. The sacred banner of Mahomet held out an invitation to the Moslems to range themselves under its green folds, for the extermination of the infidel race by which they were oppressed; and the golden-coloured standard of Humayun flaunted in the sultry air a like welcome to the followers of the most venerated sovereign of ancient Hindostan. The exhibition of these flags was but partially productive of the result desired, as about 2,000 of the Mohammedan inhabitants of the town quickly resorted to the standard of the prophet; but the flag of Humayun was not attractive to the better class of Hindoo inhabitants; those who repaired to it being chiefly *low-caste* Hindoos, and vagabonds connected with the suburbs.

While this recruiting progressed, another portion of the rebel force advanced from the camp at Sonahdah towards the intrenchment, and, without waiting for a reply to the summons of Nana Sahib, opened a sharp fire of grape and musketry. The first volley was discharged, without warning, about half-past ten o'clock in the morning of the 6th of June. The bugles immediately called the little garrison to arms, and every man rushed to his post. A fierce and effective fire was immediately opened upon the enemy, and maintained throughout the day. An assault was expected; but the rebels were content with practice at a distance. During the day, detachments of the Nana's force occupied themselves in setting fire to the bungalows and stores on the east side of the canal, and in bringing their heavy guns into the rear of the European position, from whence they kept up a destructive fire throughout that and the following day. The proximity of their 24-pounders (of which they had four) to the buildings within the intrenchment was such, that every shot told upon the verandahs and exterior works of the houses, and many went through the pukha walls of the barrack hospital, which was crowded with women and children.

The town of Cawnpore was, by the middle of the day on the 6th of June, in the entire possession of the rebel force, which, for want of an enemy to cope with, now began to pillage and illtreat the inhabitants. The palace of the nawab was battered by the guns of the riotous troops, and the outer gates having been forced, they obtained access to the interior; and after securing the person of the nawab, upon the pretext that he had concealed some Europeans from their vengeance, his residence was given up to pillage, and in a short time little more than bare walls were left to contrast with

the magnificence that had adorned them. Elate with success and its excitement, Nana Sahib now took up his quarters in the town, assuming the government of that and the surrounding districts, as representative of the king of Delhi. The occupation of the place by this man and his rebel horde, with a daily increasing augmentation of armed vagabonds, who flocked to his standard for sustenance and plunder, independent of military control, and impatient of all discipline, led speedily to the usual disastrous results among the peaceably-disposed and wealthy inhabitants of the place, whose houses were broken into and plundered without mercy; and at length, for want of European victims with whom their appetite for blood might be satisfied, they slaughtered even their own people upon the slightest real or imaginary pretext of offence.

The following details of the proceedings within the intrenchment, are from the narrative of Mr. W. J. Shepherd, of the commissariat department, who was within it from the 5th to the 24th of June; and who, from his connection with the incidents of the defence, may be regarded as a competent authority. After referring to the arrival of the rebel force led by Nana Sahib, and the preparations made for the defence of the position, this gentleman says—"We had eight guns—viz., two brass ones of the 3rd Oude battery, two 9-pounder long guns, and four of smaller size. For these, sufficient ammunition had previously been taken and buried under ground. The intrenchment was made round the hospital barracks of the old European infantry, between the soldiers' church and the new unfinished European lines; and of the two buildings thus enclosed, one had thatched roofing, over which a covering of tiles was hastily thrown, to prevent its easily catching fire. None of the native writers (Bengalese and others) in government offices or merchants' employ went into the intrenchment; they remained in the city, where they appear to have received much annoyance from the mutineers, and some had to hide themselves to save their lives. The commissariat contractors all discontinued their supplies from the 6th, or rather were unable to bring them in, from the way the mutineers surrounded the intrenchment on all sides, permitting no ingress or egress at any time, except under cover of the night.

"On the 7th, the enemy increased the number of their guns, some of which were of the largest size available. The 24-pounder guns, of which they had three or four, proved very destructive, on account of their proximity to us; the shots from them were fired with such force as to bring down whole pillars of the verandahs, and go through the pukha walls of the hospital barracks. We had but one well, in the middle of the intrenchment; and the enemy kept up their fire so incessantly, both day and night, that it was as much as giving a man's 'life-blood' to go and draw a bucket of water; and while there was any water remaining in the large jars usually kept in the verandah for the soldiers' use, nobody ventured to the well; but after the second day, the demand became so great, that a bheestie bag of water was with difficulty got for five rupees, and a bucket for a rupee, as most of the servants of officers and merchants had deserted, and it therefore became a matter of necessity for every person to get his own water, which was usually done during the night, when the enemy could not well direct their shots. In fact, after the first three days' incessant firing, the rebels made it a practice, usually about candle-light, to cease for about two hours; and at that time, the crowd round the well was very great.

"There was no place to shelter the live cattle. Horses of private gentlemen, as also those of the 3rd Oude battery, were obliged to be let loose. A few sheep and goats, as well as the bullocks kept for commissariat purposes, were shot off; and, in the course of five or six days, no meat was to be got for the Europeans. They, however, now and again managed to get hold of a stray bullock or cow near the intrenchment at night, which served for a change; otherwise dhall and chupatties were the common food of all. Several hogsheads of rum and malt liquor were also burst by the enemy's cannon; but of this there was a large quantity, and the loss was not felt.

"On the evening of the second day of the firing, the 7th of June, I received a bullet-wound (fortunately a spent shot fired from the riding-school) in my back, while standing as sentry under the walls of the intrenchment, which kept me off duty for nearly a week. However, I could observe the movement of the enemy, who had us well surrounded, in the course of four or five days, with cannon; and the musketry

of the infantry had no bounds, as they took possession of all the bungalows, compound walls, outbuildings, &c., that had been burnt down, and were nearest to our camp. The church, which was also fired, proved the most annoying to us, as also the newly built (unfinished) European barracks. Their encroachment, however, in the latter quarter, was usually checked by the vigilance of a most brave and energetic officer (Captain Moore) of her majesty's 32nd foot, who, though severely hurt in one of his arms, never gave himself the least rest; but wherever there appeared most danger he was sure to be foremost, with his arm in a sling, and a revolver pistol in his belt, directing and leading the men how to act. This officer placed scouts with eye-glasses on the top of one of the unfinished barracks, whence every movement of the enemy could be seen, and which helped our artillery to direct their shots.

"The rebel sepoys usually took possession of the first three of these barracks; but whenever they annoyed us much, or attempted to advance nearer, Captain Moore would go out with about a dozen Europeans, in the midst of a most brisk firing, and getting under cover of the other barracks, would pepper the enemy so as to soon rout them out of their hiding-place. On such occasions, the number of killed on the opposite side was considerable, whereas our men generally escaped unhurt. It was very amusing to see the way Captain Moore used to make his men and himself pass from the intrenchment into the unfinished barracks; for whenever he found the enemy too strong for the small picket placed out to protect our scouts, and keep possession of the nearest barracks, he would collect a number of volunteers from the intrenchment, and send them out one at a time: as each man ventured out, some scores of bullets would be directed towards him, and which would make him run as fast as his legs would allow; however, the distance to run in one breath was not very great; for a lot of conveyances, bullocks, trains, &c., were placed at short distances all the way to the new barracks.

"This brave officer went out on two occasions under cover of the night, with about twenty-five Europeans at a time, and spiked the nearest guns of the enemy. But for the paucity of our soldiers, it would have been an easy matter to drive away the rebels, who proved themselves to be a most cowardly set of men, particularly the cavalry; for very often attempts were made to charge upon us; and notwithstanding the very large number of people collected on the enemy's side, apparently with that intention, under cover of the buildings and compound walls nearest to our camp, they seldom dared courageously to come out; for whenever they advanced, a few charges of canister would soon disperse them, and make them all run away as fast as ever they could.

"For the first four or five days of the outbreak, our artillery kept up a brisk firing; but after that, it was considered unadvisable to exhaust our magazine; for the rebels took great care to keep always well under cover, and we could not do much execution among them. The heat was very great; and what with the fright, want of room, want of proper food and care, several ladies and soldiers' wives, as also children, died in great distress. Many officers and soldiers also were sun-struck, from exposure to the hot winds. The dead bodies of our people had to be thrown into a well outside the intrenchment, near the new unfinished barracks; and this work was generally done at the close of each day, as nobody could venture out during the day, on account of the shots and shells flying in all directions like a hail-storm; our intrenchment was strewed with them. The distress was so great, that none could offer a word of consolation to his friend, or attempt to administer to the wants of each other. I have seen the dead bodies of officers and tenderly brought-up young ladies of rank (colonels' and captains' daughters) put outside in the verandah among the ruins, to await the time when the fatigue-party usually went round to carry the dead to the well as above; for there was scarcely room to shelter the living; the buildings were so sadly riddled, that every safe corner available was considered a great object.

"The enemy now commenced firing live shells, well heated, with the intent of setting fire to the tents of officers in the compound, as also to the thatched barrack, which, though hastily covered over with tiles, was not proof against fire. The tents, therefore, had all to be struck, as several had been thus burnt; and at last, on the 13th of June, the barrack also took fire; it was about 5 P.M.; and that evening was

one of unspeakable distress and trial; for all the wounded and sick were in it, also the families of the soldiers and drummers. The fire began on the south side of it; and the breeze being very strong, the flames spread out so quickly, that it was a hard matter to remove the women and children, who were all in great confusion; so that the helpless wounded and sick could not be removed, and were all burnt to ashes (about forty or upwards in number.) The whole of the medicines were also there, and shared the same fate. All that the doctors could save was a box or two of surgical instruments, and a small chest of medicines; so that after that was expended the sick could get no medicine. It was perfectly impracticable to save any of the wounded or the medicines, in consequence of the insurgents collecting in very large bodies in the adjacent compounds and buildings, with their muskets and swords, ready every moment to pounce down upon us; and the men were compelled to keep their places under the walls of the intrenchment, and could not bear a helping hand to those in the barracks.

"The enemy on this occasion were upwards of 4,000 in number, as a reinforcement had only just been received by them from the neighbouring stations; and it appears that they had come with a full determination to make a charge on that occasion, for they made several attempts, but were successfully repulsed by our artillery. Had they come on, there is no doubt they would have defeated us; but it is quite certain that we should have slaughtered more than half of their strength; for every man of us was determined to sell his life dearly, and our arrangement was a very good one; for each individual had five or six muskets ready charged at his command, always standing against the wall, besides swords and bayonets. Subsequent to this, almost daily attempts were made, on the part of the rebels, to take us by storm; but they could not stand our artillery, and therefore all their cannon were directed upon our guns with the intention of disabling them. In this they so far succeeded, that out of eight, only two sound ones remained when the intrenchment was vacated, as will hereafter appear.

"One morning (I believe it was the 21st of June), a very great mob was seen collecting all round our intrenchment: their dresses were of diverse patterns and descriptions (for the regular corps of infantry never came out to fight in their full dress; some few had on their jackets and caps; others even without the former; and nearly the whole dressed like recruits); for a number of Oude soldiery, or rather 'tag-rag and bobtail,' had joined them. It was their intention—as I afterwards learnt from the city people—not to spare us that day even if they should all die in the attempt; and the newly created subahdar-major of the 1st native infantry had sworn upon the Gunga-jull either to take us or die. The enemy brought large bales of cotton with them, and, placing them out, they lay under cover of the same, attempting to approach us in that manner by pushing the bales on, at the same time keeping up a brisk fire with their muskets. While this sort of thing was being done towards the south-east side from the church compound, the three new barracks were filled with upwards of 500 men, endeavouring to drive away our picket and take possession of the rest, where Captain Moore again appeared as usual; and, previously arranging with our battery to send grape from the south-west corner, he took about twenty-five more men from the intrenchment, and advancing under cover of No. 5 barrack, he sent a few volleys; then going ahead behind No. 4 barrack, he managed to drive them all into Nos. 1 and 2, where a few rounds of canister routed them out entirely, killing about thirty-five or forty of their number. In the meantime, about a hundred of the wretches, under the cotton bales, from the church compound, approached in that manner to within 150 yards of the intrenchment. This was intended as an advance force; for, shortly after, the insurgents in the rear gave a fearful shout, and, jumping off the compound walls, &c., rushed towards us, led on by the above-mentioned subahdar-major, who was a well-made, powerful man. However, almost the very first shots from our musketry caught him, and, immediately after, a few rounds of canister directed towards the enemy did great execution, killing and wounding about 200 of them, and thus causing a general dispersion. About the same time an attack upon the intrenchment on the north-east corner of us caused much annoyance; for here about 200 of the enemy kept up a dreadful firing, and it took us about an hour and a-half to silence them. I was attached to this corner, under Captain

Kempland, together with Messrs. Schorne, Sheron, Jacobi (coach-builder), Duncan (hotel-keeper), and others.

"This day I saw a very daring and brave act done in our camp. About mid-day one of our ammunition-waggons in the north-east corner was blown up by the enemy's shot, and while it was blazing, the batteries from the artillery barracks and the tank directed all their guns towards it. Our soldiers being much exhausted with the morning's work, and almost every artilleryman being either killed or wounded, it was a difficult matter to put out the fire, which endangered the other waggons near it. However, in the midst of all this cannonading, a young officer of the 53rd native infantry (Lieutenant Delafosse), with unusual courage, went up, and, laying himself along under the burning waggon, pulled away from it what loose splinters, &c., he could get hold of, all the while throwing earth upon the flames. He was soon joined by two soldiers, who brought with them a couple of buckets of water, which were very dexterously thrown about by the lieutenant; and while the buckets were taken to be replenished from the drinking-water of the men close by, the process of pitching earth was carried on amid a fearful cannonading of about six guns, all firing upon the burning waggon. But at last the fire was put out, and the officer and men escaped unhurt.

"It may easily be imagined that by this time our barracks were so perfectly riddled as to afford little or no shelter; yet the greater portion of the people preferred to remain in them than to be exposed to the heat of the sun outside, although a great many made themselves holes under the walls of the intrenchment, covered over with boxes, cots, &c. In these, with their wives and children, they were secure at least from the shots and shells of the enemy, though not so from the effects of the heat, and the mortality from apoplexy was considerable. At night, however, every person had to take the watch in turn; so that nearly the whole of the women and children had room to sleep under the walls of the intrenchment, near their relatives, although the live shells kept them in perpetual dread; for nearly all night these shells were seen coming in the air and bursting in different places. Thus the existence of those that remained alive was spent in perpetual dread and fear.

"The soldiers had their food prepared by the few remaining cooks; but all the rest had to shift for themselves the best way they could; and it was sometimes a difficult matter for many who had uncooked rations served to them, to provide a mouthful of victuals for themselves and children. The soldiers' cooks and the drummers occasionally lent a helping hand that way, but not without demanding and receiving high prices for their labour. Thus I have repeatedly paid a rupee and a-half and two rupees for the cooking of one meal of dhall and chupatties, and that too often not properly done. It is beyond description to attempt to give a detail of the innumerable troubles and distresses to which all in the intrenchment were subjected. The poor wounded and sick were objects of real commiseration, for their state was exceedingly wretched. The stench also from the dead bodies of horses and other animals that had been shot in the compound, and could not be removed, as also the unusually great influx of flies, rendered the place extremely disagreeable. Thus it will not be wondered at when I say, that many persons were exceedingly anxious to get out of the intrenchment and go into the city, thinking, from want of better information, that they would be very secure there; in fact, several went out quietly in the night under this impression, and, as I afterwards learnt, were murdered by the rebels."

So far, we have the relation, by an eye-witness, of the occurrences within the intrenchment, as described by Mr. Shepherd, to whom further reference will be made as we proceed towards the climax of the Cawnpore atrocities.

A native authority, named Nerput, opium gomashta, of Cawnpore, has also furnished a report of the proceedings of the rebels from the 2nd to the 12th of June. The writer remained in the city until the 18th; and the subjoined diary is a translation from the original Persian, in which it was given by Nerput to Lieutenant-colonel Neill on his arrival at Cawnpore.

"*Diary Account of Nerput, Opium Gomashta, of Cawnpore.*—In the beginning excitement caused by story of defiled cartridges; this turned all the sepoys' hearts to disobedience, and to desire to destroy all Christians. When officers saw them mutinous, the collector borrowed elephants from Nana Dhoondu Pant, the heir of Bajee Rao, and took them to treasury to

remove the cash. The sepoys said they would not let it be removed. The collector tried in vain, and threatened to send Europeans to magazine and treasury. The sepoys, one and all, said they should not live. The collector left, and brought 300 or 400 troops, foot and horse, from the Nana's house at Bithoor, and placed them near the magazine. The Nana also promised the general and other officers his personal assistance. The Nana had thought himself aggrieved by British government refusing to continue to him the pension allotted to Bajee Rao, on the score of his being an adopted son only.

"June 2nd.—The officers found rebellion increasing every day, and therefore intrenched themselves round hospital. All Europeans, with supplies and ammunition, and one lac of rupees, went into their intrenchment on Tuesday, June 2nd. Some Mududgar told the 2nd cavalry that the sahibs were undermining their barracks, and unless they (the 2nd cavalry) left their lines, they would be blown up. The cavalry then broke out; and at midnight of June 4th, the 2nd cavalry. The *gillis* (1st native infantry) broke out, and went to burn the bungalows in the direction of the treasury and magazine. They plundered the treasury, containing near thirteen lacs, and took it away; 90,000 rupees left behind for want of carriage; this plundered by people. The magazine was taken by Nana Dhoondu Pant, who had two guns; the guns and ammunition were taken by the Nana and the sepoys, to fight the British. The Nana placed himself at their head, saying, I came, in appearance, to help the British, but am at heart their mortal enemy.

"June 5th.—The 5th June the Nana established himself in magazine, and released the prisoners, about 400 in number. He opened the armoury, and gave every prisoner any arms he wanted, on condition of remaining with him. Crowds of men armed themselves from the armoury; very many sent arms, &c., to their homes. The cavalry and regiment wished to go to Delhi to assist the king, saying they would present the treasure and ammunition to him. They went out to Kulleanpore with the Nana. But two regiments (the 56th and 53rd) had, up to this time, remained faithful, though grieved at the order of the cartridge. The mutinous regiments returned to cantonment; sent for the officers (native) and sepoys of 56th and 53rd native infantry; and after some time, and after saying that they would be outcasts of religion, they persuaded them. The rebels told the 56th and 53rd they would destroy themselves on the parade, unless they joined, and the disgrace to their religion would be on their heads; the 56th and 53rd then joined. The officers fell on the ground before the sepoys, and most of them were allowed to go to the intrenched camp. The four regiments then went to Kulleanpore.

"When the Nana saw that all the regiments were anxious to leave for Delhi, he called the officers and sepoys, and told them it was not proper to go to Delhi until all Europeans—men, women, and children—were destroyed: they agreed to return; and the whole rebel army returned on June 6th, and encamped near subahdar's tank, and placed one 24-pounder at west, one 6-pounder at north, one 6-pounder at east, and began to fire at hospital, where Europeans were collected. Supplies of ammunition were got by rebels from magazine. From that date all has been confusion; the shops of the city are plundered; Hindoos cry out, 'Ram, Ramchund is king; Mussulmans claim their head!' Houses of Bahin Allee and the sons of Nawab Aga Meer were surrounded by rebels and looted, and have taken them under charge. The houses of cantonments have been burnt. The English keep up a perpetual fire, suspending only during heat of day; rebels keep up a fire night and day.

"June 7th.—On 7th June firing continued. Darogah Azimally Khan had come in from Lucknow; the cavalry found him, and extorted one lac of rupees; shattered his house. The darogah was taken prisoner before Nana, who threatened to tie him to a hot gun; but he was released on payment of money. The rebels have murdered every Christian they could find.

"June 8th.—On the 8th of June, shooting as usual; and a number of women and children brought prisoners before the Nana, and murdered by his orders. Zemindars of neighbourhood fighting amongst themselves in payment of old quarrels. Sepoys, making for their homes with plundered treasure, have been deprived of their plunder; and, if any excuse made, immediately murdered.

"June 9th.—Cannonading as usual. Report that General Wheeler had been slightly

wounded. One person brought a paper to the Nana from the camp, in which the officers demanded of him the reason of his opposition; they offered to go to Calcutta if permitted; the officers protested against his conduct in butchering women and children; the Nana, in reply, recommenced cannonading.

"June 10th.—Cannonading as usual. One man, one woman, and three children, and one miss, were travelling down. The head of the family had been murdered on the road; but these were let go. The cavalry got hold of them, and took them to Nana, who ordered them to be killed; they were all taken on parade and shot.

"June 11th.—Cannonading as usual; English returning but few shots. At night twenty Europeans came out and attacked the 6-pounder in position, at the west; they spiked the gun, killed ten or twelve sepoys, and returned; two Europeans killed: the Nana at this was very angry. The sepoys plundered bazaar everywhere. Two women of family of Macintosh found disguised; taken before Nana, and butchered.

"June 12th.—Cannonading as usual. Report that Europeans were coming in boats to relieve. Cavalry and two companies sent westward to make inquiries; they found that 126 men, women, and children, were in a boat sick: they had gone to Nynee Tal,* and left in hopes of getting to Calcutta; these were apprehended, brought before the Nana, who ordered all to be killed, and they were murdered; one young lady, daughter of a general, told the Nana it was cowardly to butcher women and children—told him to remember that the day of retribution would come, and it would be severe; she was then murdered. Dâk chokies, &c., destroyed. Telegraph cut to pieces. Boats had been collected; all stopped, lest Christians should escape. Import of grain stopped, and prices high."

Among the expedients resorted to by the rebel leader to deceive the inhabitants of Cawnpore, and animate the spirit of his followers, a statement, of which the subjoined is a translation, was published and distributed amongst the people by order of Nana Sahib.

"'A traveller just arrived in Cawnpore from Calcutta, states that, in the first instance, a council was held to take into consideration the means to be adopted to do away with the religion of the Mohammedans and Hindoos by the distribution of cartridges. The council came to this resolution: that, as this matter was one of religion, the services of seven or eight thousand European soldiers would be necessary, as 50,000 Hindostanis would have to be destroyed, and then the whole of the people of Hindostan would become Christians. A petition, with the substance of this resolution, was sent to the Queen Victoria, and it was approved. A council was then held a second time, in which English merchants took a part, and it was decided that, in order that no evil should arise from mutiny, large reinforcements should be sent for. When the despatch was received and read in England, thousands of European soldiers were embarked on ships as speedily as possible, and sent off to Hindostan. The news of their being dispatched reached Calcutta. The English authorities there ordered the issue of the cartridges; for the real intention was to Christianise the army first; and this being effected, the conversion of the people would speedily follow. Pigs' and cows' fat was mixed up with the cartridges; this became known through one of the Bengalese who was employed in the cartridge-making establishment. Of those through whose means this was divulged, one was killed and the rest imprisoned. While in this country these counsels were being adopted, in England the vakeel of the sultan of Roum sent news to the sultan that thousands of European soldiers were being sent for the purpose of making Christians of all the people of Hindostan. Upon this the sultan issued a firman to the king of Egypt to this effect:—'You must deceive the Queen Victoria; for this is not a time for friendship, for my vakeel writes that thousands of European soldiers have been dispatched for the purpose of making Christians the army and people of Hindostan. In this manner, then, this must be checked. If I should be remiss, then how can I show my face to God; and one day this may come upon me also; for if the English make Christians of all in Hindostan, they will then fix their designs upon my country.' When the firman reached the king of Egypt, he prepared and arranged his troops, before the arrival of the English army at Alexandria, for this is the route to India. The instant the English army arrived, the king of Egypt opened guns upon them from all sides, and destroyed and sunk their ships, and not a single soldier

* These were fugitives from Futteghur.

escaped. The English in Calcutta, after the issue of the order for the cartridges, and when the mutiny had become great, were in expectation of the arrival of the army from London; but the Great God, in his omnipotence, had beforehand put an end to this. When the news of the destruction of the army of London became known, then the governor-general was much afflicted and grieved, and he lamented. In the night, murder and robbery; in the morning, neither head upon the body nor crown upon the head. The blue sky makes one revolution; neither Nadir nor trace of him remains.

"Done by order of the Peishwa Bahadoor.—13 *Zekaida*, 1273 *Hijra*."

The above specimen of Oriental "journalism"—from the Nana's "own correspondent"(?)—was read in the bazaars and at the gates of the town by the moonshee of the Rajah Dhoondu Pant with great formalities, and copies were found posted in all the places of public resort, upon the reoccupation of Cawnpore by the English troops in July.

A native writer, who appears by his narrative of the operations of the rebel force, to have been in close proximity with it during the siege, gives the following account of the mutiny and subsequent proceedings. The statement is interesting, as supplying many particulars omitted in the preceding extracts, although it varies in some instances from the details already given. The diary (for such in effect it is) commences with the plunder of the treasure at Nawabgunge, and continues down to the 12th of June inclusive.

Our extract may commence thus:—"At midnight (Thursday, the 4th of June), the 2nd cavalry and the 1st regiment of native infantry, having loaded their muskets and pistols, proceeded in the direction of the officers' bungalows with the intention of burning them, and on arrival at the treasury and magazine, they took possession of both, and commenced loading the treasure, computed at fifteen lacs (some people say more), on carts and bullocks. When about 90,000 rupees remained to be removed, no carriage being available, the native officers gave the order to plunder it, and immediately the sepoys and others carried off what remained. Having helped themselves to as much powder and ammunition as they wished, the 2nd cavalry and 1st native infantry took violent possession of two iron guns, which Dhoondu Nana had with him in his camp, near the magazine; and with these guns they proceeded to confront the European officers, and also showed a disposition to use violence to the Nana himself. At that time the Nana was present, and, with joined hands, told the sepoys that he was on their side; and that although, as far as outward appearances showed, he had come to assist the officers, yet from his heart and soul he was the deadly enemy of the English.

"After this the Nana remained with the sepoys, and they all elected him their commander; and on that day (Friday, the 5th of June) the Nana went inside the magazine and released all the prisoners, amounting to about 400, who were ironed and fettered; and, having opened the door of the armoury, gave the order that whichever prisoner was willing to follow him should arm himself with gun, pistol, or sword, as he liked best; and if any of them preferred going to their homes, they could do so. At that time hundreds of prisoners, and citizens, and sepoys, belonging to the Nana, and also to the Company, joined together, and each man took from the armoury what arms he wished; and having sent a great quantity of property to their homes, the 2nd cavalry and 1st native infantry formed the intention of going to Delhi; and their intention was to present the treasure and ammunition to the king, who is sitting upon the throne at that city, and remain in his service.

"On that same day, in company with Nana Dhoondu Pant, they encamped at the village of Kulleanpore, about five miles to the west of the city of Cawnpore; but two regiments—the 53rd and 56th—remained behind. These last-named regiments had been from the first displeased, and on account of the cartridges had shown anger; but they had not the slightest intention of creating a disturbance. However, the 2nd cavalry and 1st native infantry went down armed to their parade-ground, and called out the native officers and sepoys. After a lengthened debate among men of different persuasions, the Mussulmans having joined together, proclaimed that if these two regiments would not join them they would be outcasts from their religion, and useless, and said, 'We will cut off each other's heads and sacrifice our lives upon this very spot, and you will bring dishonour upon yourselves.' At length, after much debating, they brought these two regiments over to their own way of thinking, and made pre-

parations to go to the village of Kulleanpore, where the 2nd cavalry and 1st native infantry, and Nana Dhoondu Pant, were encamped. Several bad sepoys formed a plan to kill the officers of their respective regiments. At that time, several officers, bareheaded, fell at the feet of the sepoys and begged for their lives, and many sepoys showed them mercy and let them go, when they made off and sought the protection of the hospital or intrenched camp; while the two regiments, the 53rd and 56th, having armed themselves, accompanied the mutineers to Kulleanpore.

"When Nana Dhoondu Pant saw that the three native regiments and the 2nd light cavalry had completely thrown off their allegiance to the Company, and were thinking of going to Delhi, he, with joined hands, represented to the native officers, that it would not be correct to proceed towards Delhi until they had entirely destroyed the officers and European soldiers, and women and children, of the Christian religion; and that they should, if possible, by deceiving the officers, accomplish this grand object, or that they would be good for nothing. The native officers and sepoys approved this speech, and took council to kill all the Christians; and, plundering as they went, on Saturday, the 6th June, they returned to the subahdar's tank, near the Gwat Tola, and having placed a 24-pounder on the western side of the English encampment, at the distance of 500 yards, and one 4-pounder at the northern side, and another at the southern side, commenced firing upon the hospital, in which about 100 gentlemen, military and civil, and about 200 European soldiers, and, more or less, 100 bandsmen, of the Christian religion, for fear of their lives, had assembled. At that time, in the city of Cawnpore, it was as if the day of judgment had come; and when the sepoys of the infantry and troopers of the cavalry, the jingling of whose sword scabbards and the tread of whose horses' feet resounded on all sides, proceeded with guns of various sizes, and ammunition, from the magazines, through the Gwat Tola (which forms part of the suburbs of Cawnpore, towards the intrenched camp), I, the writer of this journal, was present, and saw this with my own eyes, and heard what was going on; and bodies of sepoys, both Hindoo and Mussulman, were shouting. From one side the cry came, 'Victory to Rajah Ramchund;' and some were calling out, 'Shout, ye faithful army, Allah has routed the Kafirs!' In fact, every one was saying whatever came upmost in his mind; and all the shops in the city had been closed for several days; but in whatever shop the sepoys entered to ask for sugar or goor, they plundered everything belonging to the citizen that they could find; so much so, that plunder and oppression was the order of the day. Every violent man did what came into his mind, and the troopers got possession of a note, the interest of which amounted to 25,000 rupees, belonging to Eman-oo-Doolah and Bakir Alee, sons of Nawab Aga Meer, and plundered very much property and cash and supplies, and also took these two men with them to render assistance, and gave them possession of a battery; and one troop, or thereabouts, left the cantonments and proceeded to the buildings in which the civil and revenue and judicial courts were held, and commenced firing them. At that time the state of the cantonments was such as if the people were surrounded with fire, and no citizen had hope left of his life or honour. In fact, they spoiled and destroyed the whole of the courts; and in the other direction, from all three sides, guns were fired at the English intrenchments to that extent that the ground seemed to be turning upside down. At first the Europeans fired round shot and grape upon the three batteries with great effect, killing two troopers and six sepoys; and when the sun became very hot the Europeans ceased firing for about three hours, and the whole night the firing was continued, and many round shot fell upon the parapets of the rebels' battery, and also round shot fell on all sides of the barrack; nevertheless, the sepoys and troopers proposed to discharge ten 24-pounders, and take the intrenched camp by storm, and kill man, woman, and child. The English had excavated mines near the barrack and near the road adjoining the ditch, with the intention that when these disloyal sepoys should make an assault they would blow them up; and although they (the sepoys) calculated that ten rounds from the 24-pounders would be sufficient during the night, they fired off nearly 400 rounds; but yet these spiritless men had not the bravery to make the assault.

"On Sunday, the 7th of June, the firing was commenced, according to custom, on all sides, and about one troop of the 2nd

cavalry having entered the Gwat Tola, committed a great deal of oppression upon the inhabitants; and they seized Darogah Asim Alee Khan of Lucknow, who for several years had been erecting houses near the residence of the sons of Aga Meer, and told him, 'You have brought away plenty of money from the Lucknow people by deceit; give us a lac of rupees;' and some one said that certain Europeans and women were hidden in his house. On this, without further inquiry, a gun loaded with grape was fired into his house, and two or three of his servants were killed. At last they took the darogah prisoner into their camp, and wished to tie him to a loaded gun in the presence of the Nana; but the Nana let him go on the payment of 1,000 rupees, and sent him to collect ammunition in the battery on hundreds of bullocks and elephants, and carts and dhoolies, &c., and whatever he could lay his hands upon. The burning of the officers' bungalows now commenced, and the burnt bungalows became, as it were, a black line; and whenever an Englishman or European soldier, or woman or child were found, they were put to death.

"On the 8th of June, the firing commenced on all sides as usual, and one lady and child (Christian) were seized and brought before the Nana. Afterwards, according to order, they were killed, notwithstanding that they represented they were faultless, and if it would please the rebels they might make them Mussulmans if they would but save their lives; but to do so did not come into the hearts of their executioners; and in the city and gardens there was so much villany committed that travelling became dangerous, and to kill a man was quite easy, and each landowner entertained fifty or a hundred followers, and committed deeds of oppression and plundered each other. Some forcibly cut the grain out of the fields, and others were occupied in picking up plundered property which had been thrown down, and hundreds of Rajpoots were posted on the roads, robbing the travellers; in fact, as many sepoys as plundered money from the government treasury, or any other property belonging to government, were all themselves plundered by the landowners; and if any sepoy made the slightest objection to give up his property, he was at once caused to sit upon the bed of death, and nearly 1,000 rupees on some, and on others 500 rupees, were found folded in their waistbands; and, in the city, the goods and chattels and cash of the English merchants were plundered to the following extent:—Greenway, fifty lacs; Da Gama, 10,000 rupees; Crump, five lacs; Mackintosh, one lac; J. Greenway, 40,000 rupees; Reed 10,000 rupees; Marshall, 4,000 rupees; Kirke, 50,000 rupees; and many gentlemen (merchants) escaped into the intrenched camp with their money, and many other merchants thought that the troops would not offer them any molestation; for if the government became Hindostani, they would open their shops and sell their property; but the sepoys did not pay any attention to this request, and at once killed them; and hundreds of lower class servants *(mahturanees)*, &c., who wore English clothes, were shot and cut down with swords.

"On the 9th the firing was resumed, and it was reported that the general had been wounded by a gun-shot; and one English paper was brought by a man into the battery to the Nana: in that paper was written, on the part of all the gentlemen, 'We have become Hindostani; why do you, having taken the magazine, fire upon us? Give us permission, and we will go to Calcutta; and to kill women and children of our religion as you do is exceedingly bad, and such deeds were never committed under any reign;' but the Nana returned no answer, and the firing was continued as usual.

"On the 10th of June, early, the firing commenced from the 24, 18, and 4-pounders, and one lady and one grown-up young lady and three children were coming along in a carriage from the direction of the west; and on the road some one had killed the lady's husband; but, not considering it proper to kill women and children, had allowed them to escape. However, the troopers of the 2nd cavalry caught them, and brought them into the presence of the Nana, who ordered them to be killed at once, although the lady begged the Nana to spare her life; but this disgraceful man would not in any way hearken to her, and took them all into the plain. At that time the sun was very hot, and the lady said, 'The sun is very hot, take me into the shade;' but no one listened. On four sides the children were catching hold of their mother's gown, and saying, 'Mamma, come to the bungalow, and give me some bread and water.' At

length, having been tied hand-to-hand, and made to stand up on the plain, they were shot down by pistol-bullets.

"On the 11th of June the firing commenced as usual; but when the balls from the side of the rebels were fired, some fell on the parapet, and some passed over the barrack altogether, and sometimes in the barrack. At that time the gentlemen remained inside the bomb-proof house, and whenever the rebels' firing was very severe, they answered it by firing one or two rounds of grape, which killed ten or twelve sepoys; in fact, during the whole day they fired one or two rounds; and at midnight about twenty European soldiers made a sortie on the 24-pounder which was placed on the western side of the battery, under the command of Eman-oo-Doolah, son of Aga Meer, and having spiked the gun, returned. That night two European soldiers were killed; and every day, the Nana and Eman-oo-Doolah, through fear, went to the Lala Bagh, and the sepoys of the regiment on that day killed a burtonwala, and lacs of rupees and property were plundered. None dare say to the sepoys, 'You villains! what are you doing?' and one lady, the wife of Mukan Sahib, merchant, who had for four or five days been hiding under the grass of her bungalow, came out of the bungalow at evening time, and was discovered. She had, through fear, changed her appearance by putting on an Hindostani bodice, and folding a towel around her head. She was taken before the Nana, who ordered her to be killed. The writer of this journal, having gone in person, saw that the head of that lady was cut off and presented as a *nuzzur* (gift of royalty); and in the place where hundreds of Christians, and ladies and children were killed, in the direction of the Tahkhana, a crowd remained; and a Rampoori trooper, by caste a Mussulman, of the 2nd irregular cavalry, remained in the presence of the Nana, and killed these innocent ones; and whenever an order was given to slay anybody, that same trooper used to slay them.

"On the 12th of June the firing again commenced, and it was reported that from the direction of the Punjab a number of Europeans were assembled. Immediately one troop of cavalry and two companies of infantry were sent to reconnoitre, when it was found that about 136 European soldiers, and women and children, had come in three boats from some station to the east; and when they heard that in every station disturbances had taken place between Hindoos and Mussulmans, they immediately took to their boats and started, with the intention of going to Calcutta."

The writer of the foregoing passages evidently alludes to a party of Europeans, refugees from Futteghur, whose sufferings and brutal massacre, by command of Nana Sahib, furnish an episode in the tragic history of Cawnpore and its defenders, that, for the sake of continuity of events, we shall presently have occasion to notice.

Throughout nineteen successive days and nights the mutineers repeated their attacks upon the intrenchment, sometimes advancing to the assault with from four to five thousand men, as if intending to carry the position by storm; at other times, contenting themselves with a distant cannonade, and occasional volleys of musketry: but in every instance of their near approach to the fortifications, they were driven back, with severe loss for their temerity. During this period, the force under Nana Sahib had increased, by the accession of budmashes and stragglers from the mutinous regiments in other quarters, to an aggregate of more than 12,000 men. The little garrison of Sir Hugh Wheeler had, on the contrary, diminished by casualty and death to a serious extent; and as yet no succour had arrived from any quarter, although efforts were frequently made to convey intelligence of the state of his force, and the perilous condition of those under his protection, to Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow. Of the several messengers dispatched by the unfortunate general, one only succeeded in delivering his communication to the officer commanding at Allahabad, 143 miles from Cawnpore, in an opposite direction from Lucknow; and even that was not effected until long too late for any useful attempt at rescue. From this messenger it was, however, gathered, that prior to his departure from the intrenchment, several of the officers and men, and persons in the civil employ of the Company, had been killed by the shot of the enemy, or had sank under the pressure of unremitting fatigue and anxiety. Among those named as having fallen previous to his departure, were Brigadier-general Alexander Jack, of the 42nd native infantry; Lieutenant-colonel Stephen Williams, of the 56th; Major Waller Robert Prout, of the same regiment; Major William Lindsay, of the 10th native

infantry, acting as assistant adjutant-general; and Captain Sir George Parker, Bart., of the 74th native infantry,* acting as civil magistrate; with several other persons of both services. Many of the women and children had also, at that time, escaped by a merciful death from the horrors in store for the unhappy survivors.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PERILOUS STATE OF THE GARRISON; DREAD OF THE RAINS; RED-HOT SHOT FIRED BY THE REBELS; THE HOSPITAL BARRACK IN FLAMES; DESTRUCTION OF SICK AND WOUNDED; THE NATIVE SERVANTS DESERT; APPEARANCE OF THE INTRENCHED BUILDINGS; SORTIE BY THE EUROPEANS; SIR H. WHEELER WOUNDED; RECORD OF SERVICES; ATTEMPT TO CONVEY INTELLIGENCE TO LUCKNOW FRUSTRATED; SUFFERINGS OF THE FEMALES AND CHILDREN; CAPITULATION OFFERED BY NANA SAHIB; CONDITIONS AGREED TO, AND CONFIRMED BY OATH; EVACUATION OF THE INTRENCHMENT; THE TROOPS AND EUROPEAN FAMILIES EMBARK IN BOATS PROVIDED BY NANA SAHIB FOR THEIR CONVEYANCE TO ALLAHABAD; THE BOATS FIRED UPON, PURSUED, AND BROUGHT BACK TO CAWNPORE; SLAUGHTER OF THE MEN; WOMEN AND CHILDREN RESERVED FOR FUTURE TREATMENT; REPORT OF LIEUTENANT DELAFOSSE; MR. SHEPHERD'S NARRATIVE RESUMED; PROCLAMATIONS OF NANA SAHIB; STATEMENTS OF AN AYAH, AND OTHER NATIVES; HEROISM OF A YOUNG LADY; ESCAPE OF TWO OFFICERS; THE INDIAN PRESS.

The unremitting attacks to which the heroic defenders of the intrenchments at Cawnpore had been subjected, and the anxieties and sufferings of the unfortunate objects of their solicitude and protection, were at length drawing to a close. The crown of the hero, and the martyr's palm, awaited each; but there was yet an ordeal through which they had to pass before the meed of their valour and endurance could be attained;—an ordeal that stamps with the brand of never-dying infamy the malignant treachery by which it was conceived, and the pitiless ferocity with which it was consummated.

From the commencement of the attack, the fire of the enemy was incessant, and occasionally it became necessary to drive back, by a sortie from the intrenchments, the advanced parties thrown out by the rebel troops. These dangerous but unavoidable operations were not unattended by loss to the besieged; and in the last of them, to which we shall presently refer, General Sir Hugh Wheeler received a wound that incapacitated him from further exertion in the field, though his gallant heart still animated those around him, and his experience dictated the measures to be adopted for prolonging the defence of the position under his command.

The discomfort of the little community within the intrenchment, was materially enhanced by a dread of the setting-in of the rains, which would have been most calamitous to all of them. Mr. Shepherd, whose narrative we have already referred to, says—"Nothing would have been more distressing than such an occurrence; for, in the first place, the holes dug in the ground by the soldiers and others, to secure themselves and children from the effects of the sun and the shot and shells of the enemy, would have been filled up. Secondly, the walls of the barracks, which, till then, afforded some shelter, were in danger of coming down, having been well shaken in many places by the 18 and 24-pounder shots incessantly

* Brigadier Jack entered the Company's service in 1823, and served through the campaign on the Sutlej; commanded the 34th regiment at the battle of Aliwal, for which he was promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy, and received the medal; served with the army of the Punjab at the passage of the Chenab, the actions of Chillianwallah and Goojerat, and in the pursuit of the Sikhs and Affghans—for which he also had a medal, and was appointed C.B.—Colonel Stephen Williams entered the service in 1820, and served with distinction in the war with Burmah (1824-'5), for which he received a medal; for his gallantry at the siege of Maharajpore, he received the bronze star of India; served also with distinction in the battles of Jadoolapore and Chillianwallah, in the last of which he was severely wounded.—Major Waller Robert Prout entered the Company's service in 1839, and won the bronze star by his gallantry at Maharajpore; he also served with the force under Brigadier Hodson against the hill tribes in 1853.—Captain Sir George Parker entered the Company's service in 1831, and obtained his captaincy in 1845; in 1847, he became joint magistrate at Meerut, and was afterwards in charge of Akbaree: at the time of his death he was a resident civil magistrate at Cawnpore.

fired against us: and again, our muskets would have been rendered useless; for there were a great many of them, and the men were quite unable to clean them all. These muskets were always kept ready loaded, so that when occasion should require, each man could use more than half-a-dozen. In a word, one shower of rain such as generally takes place at the first fall, would have rendered the place perfectly uninhabitable and extremely insecure."

But these anticipated evils from the weather were now but of secondary importance, compared with those that actually oppressed the occupants of the enclosure. For some days after going into the intrenched works, the officers and their families lived chiefly in tents, for the sake of greater convenience; but on the insurgent troops beginning to discharge red-hot shot into the position, the tents, which could no longer afford protection, were removed, and those who had used them were necessitated to seek shelter and safety by other means, and wherever they could find them. On the 13th of June, a red-hot shot fell upon the thatched roof of one of the hospital buildings, and set it on fire. At the moment, the building contained most of the wives and children of the soldiers, and many of the sick and wounded. The flames spread with rapidity; and the confusion that ensued was so great, that about forty of the invalids were burnt to death before succour could be sent to them. The rebels probably calculated upon all the men within the intrenchment rushing to save the poor creatures from the flames, and thereby leaving the works undefended; which possibility they prepared themselves to take advantage of, and so closely approached the defences, that the soldiers were compelled to remain at their posts, and leave the shrieking sufferers to their fate. By this calamity, nearly all the medicines, surgical instruments, and hospital stores, with a great quantity of clothing, &c., belonging to the occupants of the building, were utterly destroyed, rendering the position of such as might afterwards be wounded almost hopeless. Besides this, the present evil was aggravated by the loss of the shelter the building had hitherto afforded to many of the women and children, who had now no other place of refuge but the trenches and the holes sunk in the ground, where they were compelled to remain night and day until the termination of the siege, losing, upon an average, from four to five daily by sun-stroke. The accident to the hospital building had the further ill effect of frightening the native servants, who now seized every opportunity to desert, and cruelly left the European females of all ranks to perform their domestic offices besides attending to the terrified children, and to the sick and wounded among their defenders, of whom there were now a great number.

Considerably more than a hundred of the individuals who came into the intrenchment on the 4th of June, had already sank under the effects of privation, wounds, and anxiety, and many others were killed by splinters, or crushed by the falling of the battered walls. The condition of the intrenchment and buildings at the period of the surrender, some few days subsequent to the occurrence last described, may be imagined from the following detail of an officer who subsequently visited the spot, and brought away with him a vivid remembrance of its utter desolation. He says—"The road, as you enter the town from Allahabad, passes the two buildings with their outhouses, where Wheeler, with his brave band, held his own so long against the wolf-like attacks of the rebel horde that surrounded him. These buildings formed what was called the European cavalry hospital, and right well and heroically must it have been defended. The walls are pitted with cannon-shot, like the cells of a honeycomb. The doors, which seem to have been the principal points against which the Nana's fire was directed, are breached and knocked down into huge shapeless openings. Of the verandahs which surrounded both the buildings, only a few splintered rafters remain; and at some of the angles the walls are knocked entirely away, and huge chasms gape blackly at you. Many of the enemy's cannon-shot had gone through and through the buildings; portions of the interior walls and roof had fallen; and here and there are blood gouttes on wall and floor. Never yet had I seen a place so terribly battered."

And yet, in this unsheltered post, hourly rendered less tenable by the unceasing fire of the besiegers, did General Wheeler hold out for twenty-two days against an overwhelming force, of which a large portion were disciplined soldiers, well supplied with heavy artillery.

On the 16th of June, Sir Henry Lawrence, writing from Lucknow to the com-

missioner at Benares, says—"To-day we received a letter from General Wheeler, who bravely holds out: he asks us for 200 Europeans. I would risk the absence of so large a portion of our small force could I see the smallest prospect of its being able to succour him. But no individual here cognizant of facts, except Mr. Gubbins, thinks that we could carry a single man across the river, as the enemy holds all the boats, and completely commands the river. May God Almighty defend Cawnpore, for no help can we afford. * * * I have sent the pith of this to Colonel Neill at Allahabad, to urge him to relieve Cawnpore if in any way possible."

A letter from the commissioner at Benares to the governor-general, on the 25th of June, says—"General Wheeler repulsed two attacks on the 17th instant, with great loss to the enemy." Worn out, but not dispirited, by the incessant repetition of the assaults of the enemy, Sir Hugh Wheeler, on the evening of the 22nd of June, determined to make one last effort—one grand attack upon the advanced position of the rebels, and, by driving them back, to open facilities for obtaining the supplies necessary for the sustenance of his half-famished charge in the intrenchment. Accordingly, at daybreak on the 23rd, he sallied forth with a part of his gallant but attenuated force—fell like a bursting torrent upon the surprised enemy, and drove them, panic-stricken, from the ground they occupied; but he had no cavalry with which to follow up the advantage he had obtained, and so complete his triumph. The discomfited rebels, finding they were not pursued, halted, and being shortly afterwards joined by a fresh regiment from Oude, they impetuously advanced against General Wheeler's force, threatening each flank; and being now in the numerical proportion of more than twelve to one, the Europeans were compelled to retire, fighting their way back to the intrenchment, which they reached with the loss of several men. It was in this short, but sharp struggle, that the general received the wound which disabled him from further active service in the field.

Major-general Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler, K.C.B., was at the time these pages refer to, one of the most distinguished military officers in the service of the East India Company. He was the son of Captain Hugh Wheeler of the Indian army, and great-grandson, on the maternal side of Hugh, first Baron Massey, in the peerage of Ireland. Hugh Massey Wheeler was born at Ballywire, in the county of Limerick (the seat of his grandfather, Frank Wheeler, Esq.), in 1789, and at the time of his death, had just completed the 68th year of his age. He received his early education at Richmond, Surrey, and at the grammar-school, Bath. In 1803, he entered the military service of the East India Company, and received his first commission in the 48th Bengal native infantry. In the next year, he marched with his regiment, under Lord Lake, to the capture of Delhi; and having risen steadily through the intermediate ranks, became colonel of the 48th regiment in 1845, and in the same year was appointed brigadier in command of a field force. In the following December, previous to the hard-fought battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshah, Brigadier Wheeler, with a force of 4,500 men and twenty-one guns, covered the village of Busseean, where a large depôt of stores had been collected for the army under Sir Henry Hardinge, Lord Gough, and Sir Harry Smith; and thus rendered an important service, which greatly contributed to accelerate the victories that led to the subjugation of the Sikhs. In 1848, the order of the Dooranee empire was conferred upon him for distinguished services; and he was subsequently appointed one of the aides-de-camp to her majesty. Having been repeatedly thanked by the governor-general in council, and the commander-in-chief, for his eminent services in the Sikh campaigns and in the conquest of the Punjab, he was created a knight-commander of the Bath in 1850, and appointed to the command of the district of Cawnpore, which he retained until his death. Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler, K.C.B., attained the rank of major-general in 1854.

The Indian despatches, during the war in the Punjab, show that these honours were by no means cheaply won by General Wheeler. In October, 1848, he effected the reduction of the strong fortress of Rungur Nuggul, with the loss of only a single man; and by his conduct on this occasion, earned the warmest approval of Lord Gough, then commander-in-chief, who formally congratulated the brigadier on the result, which, in his opinion, was "entirely to be ascribed to the soldierlike and judicious arrangements of that gallant officer." In the following month of November, in a despatch

addressed to the governor-general, Lord Gough states, that he "has directed the adjutant-general to convey to Brigadier-general Wheeler his hearty congratulations and thanks for the important services which he and the brave troops under his command have rendered in the reduction of the fortress of Kullalwalha," also with the loss of only one man killed and five wounded. Again, in a despatch from the adjutant-general to the governor-general, dated "Camp before Chillianwallah, January 30th, 1849," it is stated that Brigadier Wheeler, in command of the Punjab division and of the Jullundur field force, supported by Major Butler and Lieutenant Hodson, assaulted and captured the heights of Dulla in the course of his operations against the rebel Ram Sing, in spite of the difficulties presented by rivers almost unfordable, and mountains deemed impregnable. And, finally, in the general order issued by him on the receipt of the despatch of Sir W. Gilbert, K.C.B., announcing the termination of hostilities in the Punjab, the governor-general thus expresses himself:—"Brigadier-general Wheeler, C.B., has executed the several duties which have been committed to him with great skill and success, and the governor-general has been happy in being able to convey to him his thanks thus publicly." Unlike Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir James Outram, and many other distinguished Indian officers, the services and reputation of General Wheeler were almost wholly of a military character, and he does not appear to have ever been employed in political or diplomatic situations.

The dangers and privations to which the individuals within the intrenched works continued to be exposed, at length became intolerable, and expedients were vainly resorted to that might afford a chance of obtaining relief. Among other propositions to the general on this subject, offers were made, by several of the civilians, to risk the chance of detection by the enemy, if, by any possibility, information of the desperate condition to which the garrison was reduced, might thereby be conveyed to Lucknow, or some other station yet held by the European troops. One of these offers was accepted, after due consideration; and a Mr. W. J. Shepherd, of the commissariat department, was selected for the enterprise, on account of his perfect knowledge of the native habits and language. This gentleman, on entering the intrenchment, had with him his family, consisting of a wife and two daughters, with some female friends, for whose safety and rescue he was naturally anxious. In detailing the incidents of his hazardous attempt to pass through the rebel camp, he says—"I daily saw pining away before my eyes my own wife and daughter; my infant girl having been killed by a musket-shot in the head, while in her mother's arms, on the 18th of June. Besides these, I had to witness daily, hourly, the anxieties and sufferings of my two nieces, Misses Frost and Batavia, both in their seventeenth year; of my sister and her infant son, and two elderly ladies. I had also an invalid brother, twenty-two years of age; and all were dying through privation and terror. They, with all around them, were naturally desirous to be delivered from a place so full of horrors as that in which they had been shut up for nearly three weeks. As it was now considered positively necessary, for the safety of all, that some one should make an effort to obtain succour, I applied to the general, on the 24th of June, for permission to go, at the same time offering to bring him all the current information that I might collect in the city, asking as a condition, that, on my return, if I should wish it, my family might be allowed to leave the intrenchment. This, my request, was granted, as the general wished very much to get such information, and for which purpose he had previously sent out two or three natives at different times, under promises of high rewards, but who never returned. He at the same time instructed me to try and negotiate with certain influential parties in the city, so as to bring about a rupture among the rebels, and cause them to leave off annoying us, authorising me to offer a lac of rupees as a reward, with handsome pensions for life, to any person who would bring about such a thing. This, I have every reason to think, could have been carried out successfully, had it pleased God to take me out unmolested; but it was not so ordained (it was merely a means, under God's providence, to save me from sharing the fate of the rest); for as I came out of the intrenchment, disguised as a native cook, and passed through the new unfinished barracks, I had not gone very far when I was taken prisoner, and, under custody of four sepoys and a couple of sowars, all well armed, was escorted to the camp of the Nana, and was ordered to

be placed under a guard: here several questions were put to me concerning our intrenchment (not by the Nana himself, but by some of his people), to all of which I replied as I was previously instructed by our general; for I had taken the precaution of asking him what I should say in case I was taken. My answers were not considered satisfactory; and I was confronted with two women servants who, three days previously, had been caught in making their escape from the intrenchment, and who gave a version of their own, making it appear that the English were starving and not able to hold out much longer, as their number was greatly reduced. I, however, stood firm to what I had first mentioned, and they did not know which party to believe. However, they let us alone. I was kept under custody up to the 12th of July, on which date my trial took place, and I was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in irons, with hard labour, from which I was released by the European troops on the morning of the 17th."

The deplorable condition to which the garrison had become reduced, at the time of Shepherd's departure on the 24th of June, is described in the following passages from a letter written by one of the officers in the intrenchment on the same day:—

"We are in a dreadful plight here. God only knows what is to become of us! Our able and gallant leader, Sir Hugh Wheeler, received, I fear, a mortal wound in a sally made the day before yesterday, and was brought into the intrenchment, in all probability only to breathe his last among those of his own race. Nobly he fought, and most deeply and sincerely will he be regretted by his gallant little band. His wound has cast a gloom now greater than ever over our (shall I say doomed?) fates. We are short of men, no provisions, no water, and hardly any ammunition left. Now we are thinking of consulting together to capitulate to the enemy, our only and last resource; but are not 'the tender mercies of the heathen cruel?' I know not if this will ever reach you; but certainly before it can do so our fate will be decided. Oh, the wretchedness around!" The prophetic question of the writer was destined to receive a speedy and terrible solution.

It must be remembered, that of the 870 individuals who, behind the frail earthen mounds that constituted their sole barrier against a host of ferocious assailants, had endured the terror and agonizing suspense of those twenty-two days, more than 330 were women and children. Of military men, at the commencement of the siege, there were not more, of all grades, than 240; and of civilians, native servants, and sick in hospital, probably about 300 altogether. The officers and men had performed their part in the eventful drama as British soldiers ever do acquit themselves under such trying circumstances; but their number had been progressively diminished by death and wounds, and but a handful of them remained to repel the attacks of daily accumulating thousands. Great, however, as were the odds, whenever they engaged in conflict with the enemy, they proved equal to the occasion; but still it was impossible for them to attempt any enterprise of hazard without the intrenchment, with a view to raising the siege, on account of the presence of so many helpless women and children, and the increasing number of wounded of both sexes and all ages, whose sole reliance for safety from the fiendlike cruelty of the besiegers, rested upon the effectual defence and protection of the noble band shut up with them behind a frail and hastily constructed barrier of dried mud! Of the women and children, the numbers had also been greatly reduced. Many of them escaped from the evils before them so early as the first week of their confinement to the intrenched works: some exhausted by previous illness; others from excessive heat, fright, want of room, and the deprivation of proper food and wholesome air. It has been since observed, that "in the obituary of many an English newspaper, when news of the terrible calamity that followed the mutiny at Cawnpore had crossed the ocean, persons read that such a one, probably a wife or daughter of an officer, had died in the intrenchment at Cawnpore; but what that intrenchment meant, few comparatively knew, and still fewer could even guess at the sufferings by which that death had been preceded." As the investment of the position grew more and more earnest, and attack succeeded attack, the bodies of the dead of all ranks were deposited in a well outside the intrenchment, lest they should engender disease by any mode of interment within the crowded and stifling enclosure; and even this sad office could only be performed under a shower of shot and shells! After three weeks of such peril, suffering,

and starvation, the survivors of the gallant band—depressed by the disabled state of their general, worn out by incessant fatigue, and with their hearts wrung to anguish by the unutterable sufferings of the women, whose heroic fortitude was giving way at seeing their innocent babes dying of disease and want—at length were disposed to entertain any proposition, or accept any terms compatible with honour, that should hold out to them and their charge a chance of deliverance from their misery. Such proposition—such terms were offered; and, in the generous confidence of their own honourable hearts, as yet unconscious of the depths to which Hindoo treachery and revenge could descend, they were accepted. It would be well for the character of the race in the scale of God's creation, if the history of the mutiny at Cawnpore could here terminate—that the pages which through all time shall describe the incidents of the Indian rebellion of 1857, might be spared the pollution of recording crimes that can only be fitly written in letters of blood and with a pen of fire.

Early in the morning of Wednesday, the 24th of June, a sentry within the intrenchment challenged the advancing footsteps of some person who had been permitted by the enemy to approach the fortifications unhurt. The intruder was a female, who announced her desire to be admitted to the general as the bearer of a message from Nana Dhoondu Pant, Peishwa, offering terms for the surrender of the position. The circumstance was immediately reported to Sir Hugh Wheeler, who in reply desired that the Sahib Dhoondu Nana Pant, or some one on his behalf, should come to the intrenchment, in order that terms of capitulation might be formally agreed to. With this intimation the messenger returned to the city; and on the following day, an agent of the Nana, named Azimoollah, with a retinue of the rebel troops, attended near the intrenchment, and was met by Captain Moore, of the late 32nd Bengal grenadiers, who had been deputed by General Sir Hugh Wheeler for the purpose of arranging terms. At the conference, it was agreed that, upon the garrison surrendering the position it occupied within the intrenchment, and abandoning Cawnpore, with the public treasure, guns, and magazine, the lives of all the Europeans and native converts at the station should be spared, and they would be at liberty to depart with their arms, colours, ammunition, and personal baggage, in boats to be provided by Nana Sahib for their safe and immediate conveyance down the Ganges to the city of Allahabad. These terms, if not actually proposed, were certainly acceded to by the agent Azimoollah, who returned with them in writing to Cawnpore; and on the following day (June the 26th), they were solemnly ratified by "Dhoondu Nana Pant, Peishwa," under his seal and signature, with the usual oaths, that, until violated in this instance by himself, had been held sacred by the whole Hindoo race—his principal officers joining in the ceremony. By his orders, a supply of provision was then sent into the intrenchment, and nothing occurred to excite suspicion of bad faith.

At daybreak on Saturday, the 27th of June, the public treasure, amounting to about three lacs, was given over to the agents of Nana Sahib; and, shortly afterwards, the sick and wounded persons, with all the females and children, were conveyed in carriages, under an escort of the rebel troops, to one of the ghats, whither the officers and others included in the capitulation accompanied them. At this place, some seventeen or eighteen boats had been collected for their reception, and the whole party embarked with as little delay as possible; but as soon as the embarkation was complete, and the ropes securing them to the ghat were cast off, the boatmen were ordered on shore, under pretence of receiving their hire-money; and upon leaving their boats, contrived to push them into the stream. This act had no sooner been accomplished, than some guns, which had been masked near the ghat, suddenly opened upon the already wounded occupants of the boats, several of which were set on fire. The guns continued to pour discharges of grape into and over the frail vessels, and volleys of musketry were fired at the poor fugitives, numbers of whom were killed in the boats; others jumped overboard, and attempted to escape by swimming, but were picked off by the bullets of the sepoys, who followed them along the shore, and even went breast-high in the river to make surer aim. Some of the boats managed to cross over to the opposite side, that they might escape the shot of their perfidious enemies; but there they were met by some sepoys of the 17th native regiment, who, having mutinied at Azimghur, had just arrived in the vicinity,

and being attracted to the bank of the river by the report of the guns, had placed themselves in such a manner as to prevent the escape of the fugitives either way. The boats, with one or two exceptions, were then stopped on both banks, and brought back to the ghat, where the survivors of the murderous and cowardly assault were compelled to re-land; and having done so, the men were immediately shot, and the women and children—many of whom were bleeding from wounds—were conveyed to a house formerly belonging to the medical department of the European troops, called the Subada Kothee, where they were left for three days, without attendance or food, except a small quantity of parched grain and some water, their only couch being the floors of the building.

About twenty of the individuals in the boats, who, in the midst of the confusion, had jumped overboard, and were unobserved by the marksmen on the bank, swam to the opposite shore, but were cut down the moment they landed, by some troopers of the Oude cavalry, who were waiting for the purpose. One boat that escaped the fusilade, was pursued along the banks of the river for several miles, by 200 of the Nana's troops, with two guns. The miscreants intercepted the flight of their prey at a bend of the river on the second day, and compelled the fugitives to return to Cawnpore; where, on the mornings and evenings of the two succeeding days, the men of the party were blown from the guns of the insurgents; the females being sent to the Subada Kothee, to share the captivity and fate of their broken-hearted countrywomen. It was said at the time, that the females were merely to be kept as hostages; and for a few days no insult was offered to aggravate the wretchedness of their captivity and bereavement.

The subjoined extracts from a narrative of this deplorable catastrophe, by Lieutenant Delafosse—who participated in all the dangers and trials Mr. Shepherd has attempted to describe, and who fortunately survived to place upon record the detestable perfidy of the miscreant by whose orders yet more diabolical crimes against honour and humanity were about to be perpetrated—will fill-in the shadows of the picture by details only known to those who witnessed the acts to which they refer. The lieutenant says—"On the 24th of June, after being on half rations for some days, the rajah sent a half-caste woman to the trenches with a note, to the effect, that all soldiers and Europeans, who had nothing to do with Lord Dalhousie's government, and would lay down their arms, should be sent to Allahabad. General Wheeler, who was suffering from a serious wound received in the sortie of the 23rd of June, gave orders to Captain Moore, then second in command, to act as he should consider best; and the captain, on the same evening, signed a treaty to the effect, that the rajah should provide boats and carriage for the wounded and the ladies down to the river-bank; while, on our side, we were to give up what treasure we had, *but retaining our arms and ammunition.* Early on the morning of the 26th, a committee of officers went to the river to see that the boats were ready and serviceable; and everything being reported on their return as ready, and the carriages for the wounded having arrived, we gave over our guns, &c., and marched out on the morning of the 27th of June, about seven o'clock. We got down to the river, and into the boats, without being molested in the least; but no sooner were we in the boats, and had laid down our muskets, and had taken off our coats to work easier at the boats, than the cavalry (our escort) gave the order to fire. Two guns that had been hidden were run out, and opened upon us immediately; while sepoys came from all directions, and kept up a brisk fire. The men jumped out of the boats; and instead of trying to get the boats loose from their moorings, swam to the first boat they saw loose. Only three boats got safe over to the opposite side of the river; but were met there by two field-pieces, guarded by a number of cavalry and infantry. Before these boats had got a mile down the stream, half our party were either killed or wounded, and two of our boats had been swamped. We had now only one boat, crowded with wounded, and having on board more than she could carry. The two guns followed us the whole of the day, the infantry firing on us the whole of that night. On the second day, a gun was seen on the Cawnpore side, and opened on us at Nuzuffghur, the infantry still following us on both sides. On the morning of the third day the boat was no longer serviceable. We were aground on a sand-bank, and had not strength sufficient to move her. Directly any of us got into the water, we were fired upon by

thirty or forty men at a time. There was nothing left but to charge and drive them away; so fourteen of us were told to go and do what we could. Directly we got on shore the insurgents retired; but having followed them up too far, we were cut off from the river, and had to retire ourselves, as we were being surrounded. We could not make for the river, but had to go down parallel, and came at the river again a mile lower down, where we saw a large force of men right in front waiting for us, and another lot on the other bank, should we attempt to cross the river. On the bank of the river, just by the force in front, was a temple. We fired a volley and made for the temple, in which we took shelter, one man being killed, and one wounded. From the door of the temple we fired on every insurgent who showed himself. Finding they could do nothing against us while we remained inside, they heaped wood all round and set it on fire. When we could no longer remain inside, on account of the smoke and heat, we threw off the clothes we had, and each taking a musket, charged through the fire. Seven of us out of twelve got into the water; but before we had gone far two poor fellows were shot. There were only five left now; and we had to swim, while the insurgents followed us along both banks, wading and firing as fast as they could. After we had gone about three miles down the stream, one of our party, an artilleryman, to rest himself, began swimming on his back, and not knowing in what direction he was swimming, got on shore, and was killed. When we had gone down about six miles, firing on both sides ceased; and soon after we were hailed by some natives on the Oude side, who asked us to come on shore, and said that they would take us to their rajah, who was friendly to the English. We gave ourselves up, and were taken six miles inland to the rajah, who treated us very kindly, giving us clothes and food. We stayed with him for about a month, as he would not let us leave, saying the roads were unsafe. At last he sent us off, on the 29th of July, to the right bank of the river, to a zemindar of a village, who got us a hackery. We took our departure on the 31st of July for Allahabad; but met the detachment of the 84th regiment, under Lieutenant Woodhouse, before we had got ten miles, and marched off with him to Cawnpore."

The names of the sufferers by this diabolical act of perfidy, were thus given by Lieutenant Delafossé, for the information of Brigadier-general Neill, some months after the occurrence. The letter of the lieutenant is dated "Cawnpore, August 6th," and says —"I have the honour to forward, for the information of Brigadier-general Neill, commanding at Cawnpore, a list of the late inhabitants of that station as far as I can remember. Those whose fate I am certain of, I have written opposite their names; the rest, it is my firm belief, perished in the boats on the morning of the 27th of June.

"*Engineers.*—Captain Whiting, killed in the boat; Lieutenant Jervis, ditto.

"*Artillery.*—Major Larkins, wife and children; Lieutenant Dempster, killed; Mrs. Dempster and children; Lieutenant Ashburner, missing; Lieutenant Eckford, killed; Lieutenant Ashe, killed in our boat; Second-lieutenant Burney, killed in the boat; Second-lieutenant Maister, wounded; Second-lieutenant Sotheby, wounded; Dr. Macaulay, brought back in boat.

"*Cavalry.*—Major Vibart, brought back in boat; Mrs. Vibart and children, ditto; Captain Seppings, ditto; Mrs. Seppings and child, ditto; Captain Jenkins killed; Lieutenant R. Quin, died of fever; Lieutenant C. Quin, wounded and brought back in boat; Lieutenant Harrison, killed in boat; Lieutenant Manderson, Lieutenant Wren, Lieutenant Daniel, wounded and brought back in boat; Lieutenant Balfour, ditto; Lieutenant Mainwaring, 6th light cavalry, ditto; Lieutenant Bolton, 6th light cavalry, ditto; Lieutenant Sterling, 3rd light cavalry.

"*Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment.*—Captain Moore, killed in boat; Mrs. Moore, brought back in boat; Lieutenant Wainwright; Mrs. and Miss Wainwright; Ensign and Mrs. Hill.

"*84th Grenadiers.*—Lieutenant Saunders.

"*1st Bengal Fusiliers.*—Lieutenant Hanville, killed in boat.

"*1st Regiment Native Infantry.*—Colonel Ewart, wounded in intrenchment; Mrs. Ewart and child; Captain Athill Turner, wounded and brought back; Mrs. Turner, died of fever; Captain Elms; Captain Smith, killed; Lieutenant Satchwell, died of wounds in a boat; Lieutenant Wheeler, A.D.C., killed; Lieutenant Redman, killed; Lieutenant Supple, killed; Dr. Newenham and children; Mrs. Newenham, died of fever.

"*53rd Regiment Native Infantry.*—Major

Hillersdon, wounded; Captain Reynolds, killed; Mrs. Reynolds and child, died of fever; Captain Belson and children; Mrs. Belson, died of fever; Miss Campbell; two Misses Glasgow; Lieutenant Jellicoe and child; Mrs. Jellicoe, died of fever; Lieutenant Armstrong; Lieutenant Bridges; Lieutenant Master, wounded in boat; Lieutenant Thompson, wounded; Lieutenant Prout, killed; Lieutenant Delafosse, escaped; Ensign Dowson; Ensign Forman, wounded; Dr. Collyer, died of fever.

"56*th Regiment Native Infantry.*—Colonel Williams, died of apoplexy; Mrs. Williams, wounded; Miss Williams, died of fever; two Misses Williams; Major Prout, died of sun-stroke; Mrs. Prout; Captain Halliday, killed; Mrs. Halliday, died of small-pox; Mrs. Halliday's child; Captain and Mrs. Kempland and children; Lieutenant Goad, brought back in boat; Lieutenant Chalmers, ditto; Lieutenant Morris; Lieutenant Ward; Lieutenant Fagan, wounded in boat; Lieutenant Henderson, ditto; Lieutenant Jackson, 67th native infantry; Mrs. Jackson; Lieutenant Battine, 44th native infantry, wounded in boat.

"*Staff.*—Sir H. M. Wheeler, K.C.B., commanding; Lady Wheeler; three Misses Wheeler; Brigadier Jack, died of fever; —— Jack, Esq., killed; Colonel Wiggins, killed in boat; Major and Mrs. Lindsay, died of fever; Captain and Mrs. Williamson and child, 49th native infantry; Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Moncrieff and child; Dr. Garbett, died of fever; Dr. and Mrs. Allen; Sir G. Parker, Bart., 74th native infantry, killed from sun-stroke; Dr. and Mrs. Harris; Miss Brightman, died of fever; Dr. and Mrs. Bowling and child; Dr. Chalwin, veterinary surgeon, killed; Mrs. Chalwin; Miss White; Lieutenant Harris's child; Mrs. Wade, died of fever; Mrs. George and three Misses Lindsay; Ensign Lindsay, 11th native infantry; Mrs. Blair, brought back in boat; two Misses Blair, one died of fever; Mrs. Fraser, 27th native infantry, brought back in boat; Mrs. Evans; Mrs. Darby and infant; Miss Bisset; Mrs. Swinton and three children; Miss Cripps; Charles Hillersdon, Esq., civil service, killed; Mrs. Hillersdon and child, died of fever; Mr. and Mrs. M'Killop, civil service, killed; Mr. Stacey, wounded; Captain Angelo, ditto; Mr. Bains and Mr. Miller, wounded and brought back in boat; Mr. Latouche; —— Hillersdon, wounded; Dr. and Mrs. Boyes; Mr. Cox, late 1st fusiliers, killed; Mr. Cumming, brought back in boat; Mr. and Mrs. Anderson; Mr. Cook; Mr. Campbell; Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Haycock; Mr. Christie, died of fever; Mrs. Christie and family; Mr. and Mrs. Fagan and family; Mr. Greenway and family; Mr. Thom Schirne, merchant; Mr. Shencair; the whole of the married women and children of the 32nd regiment; and the 1st company, 6th battalion artillery, with the women and children belonging to the company; Mrs. Shore; Mrs. Eckford; also many persons who came into the intrenchments, with their families, and whose names I do not know.

"H. G. DELAFOSSE, Lieutenant,
"53rd Regiment Native Infantry."

Returning, for the sake of corroboration, to the interesting narrative of Mr. Shepherd, from the period when the surrender of the intrenchments began to be contemplated by the remnant of its defenders; we read—"It is true there were provisions yet left to keep the people alive on half-rations for the next fifteen or twenty days. Of grain we had a large quantity, and it formed the principal food of all the natives with us, which they preferred to otta and dhall, as it gave them no trouble as regards cooking; for a little soaking in water was sufficient to make it fit to eat; and many scrupulous Hindoos lived the whole period entirely upon it. But, taking into consideration all the distressing circumstances related above, our brave men repeatedly requested permission to sally out at night and take possession of the enemy's guns, or, in case of failure, die an honourable death, rather than be thus tormented by a set of cowardly natives. Many officers, also, were of the same opinion; but, from a false hope of receiving a reinforcement from Lucknow, and the exceedingly great, though natural, attachment of the women to their respective husbands, fathers, and brothers, such a course was put off from day to day, which, if attempted, would, without doubt, have been attended with complete success; as I learn, that latterly the cannons used to be almost entirely abandoned by the soldiery during the night, and only a few golundauzes kept loading and firing them; the musketry was kept up by a handful of sepoys placed here and there, more for appearance sake than with any intention of doing us much injury: though during the day it was not so; but, on the contrary, every exertion appeared

to be used by the wretches to torment us; and, as I now find, it was a matter of wonder and astonishment, not only to the rebels, but to every person in and near Cawnpore, how it was possible for a mere handful of people to exist so long, under such difficulties, without suing for peace or offering terms. However, such a course was in contemplation in the intrenchment when I left (as above, on the 24th of June); but, instead of a proposal of this nature coming from our camp, that same afternoon a message was sent by the Nana to General Wheeler, offering to let him and all his people go to Allahabad unmolested, if he would consent to vacate the intrenchment and abandon Cawnpore; and, at the same time, make over to him all the public treasure, the guns, and magazines in the camp. This message was brought by a very aged European lady, Mrs. Greenway, who, with one of her three surviving sons, Edward Greenway (of the firm of Greenway Brothers), and some others of her relatives, had sought refuge in a village belonging to the firm, called Nujjub Gurle, about sixteen miles from Cawnpore, thinking that the insurgents would not proceed so far away to molest them. In this, however, they were mistaken, like all the rest in Cawnpore; for the Nana soon found them out, and would have killed them there and then but for a promise on their parts to give a ransom of a lac of rupees: they were kept alive, and taken care of.

"Thus this poor aged and respectable lady was made the medium of communication between the rebel chief and the British general at Cawnpore. I would here beg to be understood, that what I now write has been gathered from different sources; for I was placed in gaol, and had not the opportunity to see for myself: however, I have taken care to convince myself of the authenticity of the information I herein insert.

"The following day (June 25th) was fixed by the general for an interview with any person whom the Nana might appoint to arrange matters; and, accordingly, at about noon, a man, named Azimoollah, with a few of the ringleader sowars of the 2nd light cavalry, came to the camp, and were received by the general in one of the unfinished barracks outside the intrenchment. Azimoollah, who could read and write English, attempted to open the conversation in that language, but was prevented from doing so by the sowars. It was agreed upon, on the part of our general, that all the government money, the magazine in the intrenchment, with the guns (two only of which were in serviceable order, the rest having been rendered useless by the enemy's cannon), should be made over to the Nana; and, in return, the Nana should provide tonnage, and permit every person in the intrenchment to proceed to Allahabad unmolested. This agreement was drawn up in writing, signed, sealed, and ratified by a solemn oath by the Nana. All hostile proceedings were stopped on both sides from the evening of the 24th. The 26th was employed by the English people in preparing for their journey, and a few officers were allowed to go on elephants to see the boats provided as above.

"On the morning of the 27th, a number of carts, dhoolies, and elephants were sent to the intrenchment by the Nana, to enable the women and children and sick to proceed to the river-side. It is reported that the persons who came out that morning from the intrenchment amounted to about 450, and a general plunder took place of what property the officers and others were obliged to abandon in the intrenchment. The men and officers were allowed to take their arms and ammunition with them, and were escorted by nearly the whole of the rebel army. It was about 8 o'clock A.M. when all reached the river-side—a distance of about a mile and a-half: those who embarked first managed to let their boats go; thus three or four boats got off a short distance, though deserted by their crews; but the rest found difficulty in pushing them off the banks, as the rebels had previously had them placed as high in the mud as possible, on purpose to cause delay. In the meantime, the report of three guns was heard from the Nana's camp, which was the signal (as previously arranged) for the mutineers to fire upon and kill all the English; and accordingly the work of destruction commenced. The boats' crews and others were ordered to get away; some of the boats were set on fire, and volley upon volley of musketry was fired upon the poor fugitives, numbers of whom were killed on the spot; some fell overboard, and attempted to escape by swimming, but were picked off by the bullets of the sepoys, who followed them on shore, and in breast-deep water. A few boats crossed over to the opposite bank; but there a regiment of native

infantry (the 17th), just arrived from Azimghur, had placed itself in such a manner as to prevent their escape. The boats were then seized upon on both banks, the river not being very broad, and every man who survived was put to the sword. The women and children, most of whom were wounded, some with three or four bullet-shots in them, were spared and brought to the Nana's camp, and placed in a pukha building called 'Subada Kothee,' and for the first three days no attention was paid to them, beyond giving them a small quantity of parched grain each daily for food and water to drink, leaving them to lie on the hard ground, without any sort of bedding, mats, &c.

"One young lady, however, was seized upon (reported to be General Wheeler's daughter), and taken away by a trooper of the 2nd light cavalry to his home, where she at night, finding a favourable opportunity, secured the trooper's sword, and with it, after killing him and three others, threw herself into a well and was killed.

"At sunset of the same day (27th of June) the Nana had a general review of all his troops, said to consist of corps, or portions of corps, noted in the margin,* and which had joined at Cawnpore, from time to time, since the 5th of June, 1857, which assembled on the plain of Sonhada, on the north of our vacated intrenchment. Here three salutes were fired from the heavy guns: one of twenty-one guns for the Nana as sovereign; nineteen guns for his brother, Balla Sahib, as governor-general; seventeen guns for Jowalla Pershaud (a Brahmin), as commander-in-chief: after which the so-called governor-general gave a short speech to the army, praising them for their great courage and bravery in obtaining a complete victory over the British at Cawnpore, and promising them a lac of rupees as a reward for their labours, which, however, was put off from day to day, and the army never saw a pice of it. The Nana and his staff then returned to their tents under the same salutes.

"In the meantime, people followed after the advanced boats, that had gone adrift at the first setting off, and which contained a good number of officers, soldiers, and their families; they went a few miles, but returned without success. The boats did not, however, escape altogether, but were captured by the zemindar of Dowreea Kheyra, named Baboo Rambux, near Futtehpore, and the fugitives, about 115, were all sent back on carts to the Nana. They reached on the 1st of July; and on the evening of the same day all the men and officers (about seventy-five or eighty) were killed in cold blood. An officer's lady, with her child, clung to her husband so that it was impossible to separate them, and they were killed together. The women and children on this occasion amounted to about thirty-five in number: making a total of the prisoners, including the old lady, Mrs. Greenway, her son Edward, and three members of their family, about 150 in all. These were then removed from the Subada Kothee into a small building (near the assembly-rooms), adjoining the medical depôt, lately occupied by Sir George Parker; where they remained in close custody, receiving only a small quantity of dhall and chupatties daily for food for the first few days, after which a little meat and milk for the children was allowed, as also clean clothes were issued from those forcibly taken from the washermen of the station, who had them for wash previous to the outbreak. A sweeper-woman and bheestie were also allowed some. Five of the sufferers died in bondage from want of care and attention. It is not easy to describe, but it may be imagined, the misery of so many helpless persons, some wounded, others sick, and all labouring under the greatest agony of heart for the loss of those so dear to them, who had so recently been killed, perhaps, before their own eyes, cooped up night and day in a small, low, pukha-roofed house, with but four or six very small rooms, and that in the hottest season of the year, without beds or punkas, for a whole fortnight, watched most carefully on all sides by a set of unmannerly, brutish, rebellious sepoys.

"It is reported that the lives of the poor women were spared by the Nana from bad motives, and that he appointed a wicked old hag to persuade the helpless creatures

* 2nd light cavalry; the 1st, 53rd, and 56th regiments of native infantry, of Cawnpore; 1st and 2nd Oude irregular cavalry, and two regiments of Oude native infantry, from Lucknow; 17th regiment of native infantry and 13th irregular cavalry, from Azimghur; 12th regiment of native infantry, 14th irregular cavalry, and No. 18 field battery, from Nowgong; a detachment of the 10th native infantry, from Futteghur; a detachment of the 6th native infantry, from Allahabad; three Nowabie regiments, from Lucknow; two half regiments of newly-raised infantry at Cawnpore; besides a great mob of zemindars, &c., of neighbouring districts, who came well-armed to assist the Nana.

to yield to his wishes; this message, I learn, was conveyed to the women with great art, accompanied by threats and hopes; but it is pleasing to find that it was received with great indignation and a firm resolution to die, or kill each other with their own teeth, if any forcible means were employed to seduce them.

"All this while the Nana continued to receive many more troops, which, after mutinying, had left their respective stations, and poured from all sides into Cawnpore; so that, about the 10th of July, there were near upon 20,000 armed fighting-men of all classes at his command, and the depredation they committed in the city was excessive; many rich Mahaguns were plundered and reduced to beggary, and the poorer classes of people suffered in proportion: every person who appeared respectable, or well-to-do in the world, was assailed, and his house searched, under the plea of having Europeans hid in it; but really for no other purpose than to plunder whatever property he might have worth taking. It is impossible to describe all the wickedness these wretches committed during so short a time.

"Fresh corps were being raised, and recruits daily entertained; a new horse battery was formed. The zemindars all around were directed to bring in the revenue due by them; new offices were created and bestowed daily upon favourites. The Ganges canal (built with so much trouble, and at so great a cost to government) was bestowed upon the villain Azimoollah, who, together with about 150 of the Mussulman troopers of the 2nd regiment of light cavalry, and Tuka Sing (subahdar of the same regiment, created a brigadier-general of the Cawnpore division at the time), were at the bottom of all mischief. It was through their instigation that the Europeans were killed in cold blood, as described above, as also the gentlemen and ladies, with their families, that had arrived from Futteghur while our intrenchment was besieged, who were also murdered in the most inhuman manner by the above wretches.

"The Nana caused to be proclaimed, by beat of tom-tom throughout Cawnpore and its districts, that he had entirely conquered the British, whose period of reign in India having been completed, they were defeated at Delhi, Bombay, &c., and dare not put foot in Cawnpore any more, as he was well prepared to meet any number, and to drive them away from all India."

The following are translations of three of the proclamations referred to. The originals are in the possession of the authorities at Calcutta. The first of these documents is dated the 1st of July, and runs thus:—

"As, by the kindness of God and the good fortune of the emperor, all the Christians who were at Delhi, Poonah, Sattara, and other places, and even those 5,000 European soldiers who went in disguise into the former city and were discovered, are destroyed and sent to hell by the pious and sagacious troops, who are firm to their religion; and as they have all been conquered by the present government, and as no trace of them is left in these places, it is the duty of all the subjects and servants of the government to rejoice at the delightful intelligence, and to carry on their respective work with comfort and ease."

Proclamation, also dated the 1st of July, and issued by order of the Nana:—

"As, by the bounty of the glorious Almighty God and the enemy-destroying fortune of the emperor, the yellow-faced and narrow-minded people have been sent to hell, and Cawnpore has been conquered, it is necessary that all the subjects and landowners should be as obedient to the present government as they had been to the former one; that all the government servants should promptly and cheerfully engage their whole mind in executing the orders of government; that it is the incumbent duty of all the ryots and landed proprietors of every district to rejoice at the thought that the Christians have been sent to hell, and both the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions have been confirmed; and that they should as usual be obedient to the authorities of the government, and never to suffer any complaint against themselves to reach the ears of the higher authority."

Order, dated the 5th of July, to the city *kotwal* (mayor), by the Nana:—

"It has come to our notice that some of the city people, having heard the rumours of the arrival of the European soldiers at Allahabad, are deserting their houses and going out into the districts; you are therefore directed to proclaim in each lane and street of the city, that regiments of cavalry and infantry, and batteries, have been dispatched to check the Europeans either at Allahabad or Futtehpore, that the people should therefore remain in their houses without any apprehension, and engage their minds in carrying on their work."

Another participator in the sufferings of the gallant band at Cawnpore, says of his companions:—"After having endured every discomfort from want of fresh provisions and water, and from the inclemency of the weather, as also from the dilapidated state of the barracks in which they had taken shelter, want of every kind of provisions obliged them at last, on the 26th of June, to accept terms of peace. The Nana and his

principal officers solemnly promised, on oath, to have them conveyed safely to Allahabad. Boats were prepared for them; elephants, hackeries, &c., were brought to the intrenchment, for conveying them to the boats; and on the morning of the 27th of June, the inmates of the intrenchment came out, and proceeded to the ghat where the boats had been kept in readiness, escorted by a number of sowars and sepoys, some of whom, on reaching the bank of the river, called out to the boatmen that they should leave their boats, and come up to receive their pay. When they found that all the boatmen had done as they desired, they commenced firing volleys from the high banks on the officers, &c., some of whom were embarked on the boats, while others were standing by them. A regiment of Oude irregulars had just arrived on the opposite side of the river; and the men belonging to that corps also fired at the officers. After several volleys had been fired, the savage mutineers put the greater portion of the officers and men to death with their swords, a number of them having escaped in one or two boats; but they were subsequently caught at some place below Jaujmon, and brought to Cawnpore after two or three days, when they were all killed. Among them was Captain Seppings, the officiating deputy paymaster. The ladies and children were then brought on country carts into the premises of the medical department, where they remained in close custody for nearly three weeks, hardly receiving any refreshments. The diet or food allowed them was only two or three *chupatties* (bread), and a little dhall to each. They had their old clothing to wear, sleeping on the bare ground. After a few days their condition was somewhat changed by the Nana's order—cleaned or washed gowns, &c., to be provided, and meat supplied to them daily; a few servants, khitmutgur, &c., were also employed to attend them."

A person named Nujoor Jewarree, employed as a spy, and who is described as an intelligent man belonging to the 1st native infantry, gives the following account of the proceedings at Cawnpore, in which many of the above-named persons unfortunately suffered:—

"When the Nana's guns opened on the boat in which Wheeler Sahib (the general) was, he cut its cable, and dropped down the river. Some little way down, the boat got stuck near the shore. The infantry and guns came up and opened fire. The large gun they could not manage, not knowing how to work the elevating screw, and did not use it. With the small gun they fired grape tied up in bags, and the infantry fired with their muskets. This went on all day. It did not hurt the sahib-log much. They returned the fire with their rifles from the boat, and wounded several of the sepoys on the bank, who therefore drew off towards evening. The sepoys procured a very big boat, into which they all got, and dropped down the river upon the sahibs' boat. Then the sahibs fired again with their rifles and wounded more sepoys in the boat, and they drew off and left them. At night came a great rush of water in the river, which floated off the sahibs' boat, and they passed on down the river; but owing to the storm and the dark night, they only proceeded three or four koss. In the meantime, intelligence of the sahibs' defence had reached the Nana, and he sent off that night three more companies of the native regiment (1st Oude infantry), and surrounded the sahibs' boat, and so took them and brought them back to Cawnpore. Then came out of that boat sixty sahibs, and twenty-five mem-sahibs, and four children—one boy and three half-grown girls. The Nana then ordered the mem-sahibs to be separated from the sahibs, to be shot by the *gillis pultun* (1st Bengal native infantry); but they said, 'We will not shoot Wheeler Sahib, who has made our pultun's name great, and whose son is our quartermaster; neither will we kill the sahib-log. Put them in prison.' Then said the nadire pultun, 'What word is this? Put them in prison; we will kill the male.' So the sahib-log were seated on the ground, and two companies of the nadire pultun placed themselves over against them, with their muskets, ready to fire. Then said one of the mem-sahibs (the doctor's wife she was; I don't know his name, but he was either superintending-surgeon or medical store-keeper), *'I will not leave my husband; if he must die, I will die with him.' So she ran and sat down beside her husband, clasping him round the waist. Directly she said this, the other mem-sahibs said, 'We will also die with our husbands:' and they all went and sat down beside their husbands. Then their husbands said, 'Go back;' but they would not.* Whereupon the Nana

ordered his soldiers, and they going in, pulled them forcibly away, seizing them by the arm; *but they could not pull away the doctor's wife, who there remained.* Then, just as the sepoys were going to fire, the *padre* (chaplain) called out to the Nana, and requested leave to read prayers before they died. The Nana granted it. The padre's bonds were unloosed so far as to enable him to take a small book out of his pocket, from which he read; but all this time, one of the sahib-log, who had been shot in the arm and the leg, kept crying out to the sepoys, 'If you mean to kill us, why don't you set about it quickly, and get the work done? Why delay?' After the padre had read a few prayers, he shut the book, and the sahib-log shook hands all round. Then the sepoys fired. One sahib rolled one way, one another, as they sat; but they were not dead, only wounded; so they went in and finished them off with swords. After this, the whole of the women and children (that is, including those taken out of other boats), to the number of 122, were taken away to the yellow house, which was the hospital. This was the Bithoor rajah's house in the civil lines, where I and four more sepoys were confined, and where I had the opportunity of talking to the sergeant-major's wife."

The remainder of this person's narrative will be hereafter referred to.

A native woman in the service of Mrs. T. Greenway, as ayah, gives the following account of this deplorable tragedy. It is presumed that the Mrs. Jacobi named by this person, is the individual mentioned by Lieutenant Delafosse as the "half-caste," employed by Nana Sahib to convey his offer of conditions for the surrender of the intrenchment. Commencing with that occurrence, the ayah proceeds thus:—

"Mr. Jacobi's wife was hiding in one of the nawab's houses, and was discovered by a sowar, who took her to the Nana Sahib in Hindostani clothes, having caught her at one of the ghats crossing to Lucknow, as the nawab was sending her there for safety. The Nana imprisoned her with one Mrs. Greenway. The sepoys were by this time becoming disgusted at the fight continuing so long, and said, 'If you don't keep your promise with us, we will kill you.' On this the Nana said, 'Don't be alarmed, I will give you more than I promised.' He then said to Mrs. Jacobi, 'Will you take a note to General Wheeler?' She said, 'Yes;' the letter was written, and sent by Mrs. Jacobi to the general; she was not at first allowed to come near the camp by the soldiers; but when they heard the English voice they allowed her to do so. The contents of this letter were, 'It is far better for you who are alive to go at once to Allahabad, unless you wish to continue fighting; if so, you can do so. Let Cawnpore be given up, and you shall be saved.' On reaching the intrenchment, General Wheeler saw Mrs. Jacobi, and, after having read the note, said, 'I cannot agree to anything sent this way by letter; if the Nana has any proposition to make, tell him to make it in person.' Mrs. Jacobi took this reply back to the Nana, who said, 'If the Europeans will cease firing, I will go;' and sent back a reply. The general said, 'Let both sides cease firing during the conference:' it was agreed to. On the following day the Nana, his brother Baber Dutt (?), and nephews, and a large party of soldiers, came up to the intrenchment. General Wheeler was ready to meet them. The Nana said, 'Take away all the women and children to Allahabad, and if your men want to fight, come back and do so. We will keep implicit faith with you.' General Wheeler said, 'You take your solemn oath, according to your customs, and I will take an oath on my bible, and will leave the intrenchment.' The Nana said, 'Our oath is, that whoever we take by the hand, and he relies on us, we never deceive; if we do, God will judge and punish us.' The general said, 'If you intend to deceive me, kill me at once; I have no arms.' The Nana replied, 'I do not intend to deceive you; everything is prepared and ready.' The general asked the Nana, 'Are all our servants to go with us, or do you supply us with servants?' The reply was, 'Yes.' On the following day, though suspicions were entertained of the faith of the Nana's party, still they hoped all was right. The Nana sent on Sunday to say the servants were not to go, as the ladies and women could look after themselves. On this being heard they were all alarmed. At 7 A.M. the mutineers surrounded the intrenchment and all the Englishmen in their power; the servants ran away, and were cut down; a few escaped; all were alarmed. The rebels reached (?) the intrenchments, and said, 'Come to the boats; all is ready.' Ladies and children were sent on elephants, dhoolies, &c., and the men marched to the river,

and then embarked on the boats. When they all saw food prepared, and all comfortable, they were delighted. When a few had gone on board, and others were waiting to embark on the river-side, a gun opened on them with canister (this gun and others had been masked); one boat took fire, and then another gun opened, and four boats were fired; on this, those who escaped the fire jumped into the water. The sepoys also fired muskets; the sowars entered the water on horseback, and cut numbers down. Fifteen boatloads of English were massacred; 108 women and children escaped this massacre, but many of them were wounded. The Nana said, 'Don't kill these; put them in prison.' One boat, in which General Wheeler was, was pulled off by the soldiers. The poor people, on the burning of the boats, and when in the water, were calling on God for help. A daughter of General Wheeler's was taken off by a sowar and put into his house along with his wife, near the church. This girl remained till nightfall; and when he came home drunk and fell asleep, she took a sword and cut off his head, his mother's head, two children's heads, and his wife's, and then walked out into the night air; and when she saw other sowars, she said, 'Go inside and see how nicely I have rubbed the rissaldar's feet.' They went inside, and found them all dead. She then jumped into a well and was killed. From fear of what this girl had done, none of the rebels would have anything to say to the Englishwomen, whom the Nana at first proposed to give to the soldiers: 115 women and children were imprisoned with scarcely any food for six days, except gram and such stuff. The boat containing General Wheeler, and other ladies and gentlemen, got off for twenty-two miles, when they were seized by the zemindars of Joagnuhar, and had their hands tied behind them, and were taken back to the Nana. Mrs. Read, Thomas Greenway, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, Mrs. M'Kenzie, and Captain M'Kenzie and Dr. Harris, and several Europeans, were among the party. The Nana was much pleased. Owing to the general's old age, he said, 'Loosen his arms.' Hoolar Sing, kotwal of Cawnpore, said, 'Don't do so.' The Nana said, 'Take them to the guard, and let the others remain where they are.' One sepoy and sowar killed each a European. Dr. Harris was wounded with two balls, and then addressed the rebels:—'Shoot me or kill me; my countrymen will revenge my death before long.' Two sowars then cut him down, and he died. If the zemindars had not seized this boat, all would have been saved in it. Those ladies who were first in the Nana's prison, had their food of the worst description from the bazaar. Ten days after this he sent them to a house near the assembly-rooms. Then the Nana wrote to Delhi, mentioning the number of women and children whom he had taken, and soliciting instructions regarding them. A reply was received that they were not to be killed. The Nana then entertained servants for the prisoners."

There are some discrepancies in the foregoing versions of the affair, which may perhaps be considered excusable on the ground of the confusion and bewilderment such occurrences as those described by the ayah would be likely to produce; but in the main facts, as related by the several parties, there is but little difference. With regard to the statement respecting the youngest daughter of General Wheeler, there is perhaps no reason for doubting, that some retributive act, of the kind alleged, did actually take place, from the prevalance of the reports detailing such an occurrence. In the narrative of Mr. Shepherd, it will be remembered the affair is alluded to thus:—"One young lady, however, was seized upon (reported to be General Wheeler's daughter), and taken away by a trooper of the 2nd light cavalry to his house, where she, at night, finding a favourable opportunity, secured the trooper's sword, and with it, after killing him and *three* others, threw herself into a well and was killed." Shepherd, who does not profess to state the occurrence as of his direct personal knowledge, says, "after killing him and three others." The ayah distinctly specifies four others—the mother, two children, and the wife! It seems incredible that a young lady, reared amidst the refinements of high European society in India, could have had resolution, or physical energy, even in a state of absolute and uncontrollable frenzy, to commit a succession of acts amounting in the aggregate to one of such surpassing horror. Besides, a third version of the tale (and by far the most probable one), represents the heroic girl as defending herself from the brutal and licentious attack of four miscreant sepoys, with one of her murdered father's revolvers, which she had contrived to secrete, and successfully used, to preserve herself from dishonour. That

in the excitement, terror, and desperation of the moment, the noble but ill-fated young lady should then have plunged into the well, to escape the atrocities that would in all probability have followed the discovery of her justifiable but desperate act of self-defence, may be reasonably assumed as a natural consequence of the frightful circumstances that surrounded her.

The fall of Cawnpore is thus noticed in a telegram of Brigadier-general Havelock, transmitted to the commander-in-chief on the 2nd of July:—

"A report of the fall of Cawnpore received from Lawrence, but is not believed by the authorities at Allahabad. Sir. H. writes as follows:—'On the 28th of June, at 10 P.M., every reason to believe that the Cawnpore force has been entirely destroyed by treachery.' "—Again, on the 3rd, General Havelock telegraphs:—"The news of the entire destruction of the Cawnpore force confirmed by Cossids, who carrying letters from Lucknow to Allahabad, witnessed it. They say, that the Nana swore to send the garrison in boats to Calcutta; but that, as soon as the Europeans got into the boats, the guns opened on them. The fugitives made for the opposite bank, and were entirely destroyed by a large body of cavalry."

So incredible did the news appear, that the civil authorities unhesitatingly declined to believe it. Mr. H. Tucker, the civil commissioner at Benares, telegraphed on the 4th of July, to the governor-general:—"General Havelock's telegram as to the fall of Cawnpore is not believed here. The circumstances are very improbable, and like a *ruse* to delay the column."* The doctrine of improbabilities appears to have been a favourite one to fall back upon by the civil authorities generally at this period of the rebellion. With the exception of Lawrence, Colvin, Gubbins, and one or two others—men of judgment and energy—there was constantly exhibited an insurmountable reluctance to believe in the extent or gravity of the evil; and a reluctance equally great to act, when convinced of it, unless the mischief lay upon their own thresholds.

From the wholesale butchery that consummated Nana Sahib's oath of good faith, on the 26th of June, two officers of the 56th regiment fortunately escaped; although they were not equally fortunate in surmounting subsequent perils. These gentlemen had been sent on detached duty, on the 2nd of June, with 200 men, to Ooral, a village some miles from Cawnpore, and were consequently away from the cantonment when the troops mutinied; but when intelligence of the revolt at that place reached Ooral, and it became known that the 56th regiment had thrown off its allegiance, the men on detachment duty did not hesitate to follow the example set them by their comrades at head-quarters. The two officers had barely time to escape with life, and galloped off, having with them nothing but the clothes they wore at the moment, their swords and revolvers. Thus accoutred for a perilous flight through a country festering with rebellion, and swarming with wretches more bloodthirsty than even the ferocious animals that inhabited the jungles they were compelled to traverse, they found their way to various places; sometimes encountering deadly enemies—at others, a friendly reception. At one point of their wanderings they met two brother-officers escaping from mutinous soldiers at Humeerpore; and, in company with them, "rowed boats, swam rivers, entered villages (where they were plundered of their horses, weapons, and clothes); sometimes without food; sometimes subsisting on a scanty repast of chupatties and water—occasionally picking up bits of native clothing to cover the nakedness to which they were reduced: and thus, during seven-and-thirty days, these gentlemen wandered, homeless and friendless, through a country that, only a few months previous, appeared not to shelter an enemy." Of the two officers from Cawnpore, one died in the jungle; the other (Ensign Brown) ultimately joined a body of English troops at Futteypore.

A publication of great merit,† in referring to the prolonged and desperate resistance that we have seen terminated by a crime till then unparalleled in the history of Indian duplicity, says—"Our English history has many records of noble fortitude and unshrinking constancy in positions of extraordinary peril, and our Indian history is full of them. The career of our victory began with Clive's arduous triumph at Arcot; and since that time, India has witnessed the defence of Seetabuldee by Sir R. Jenkins, of Jellalabad by Sale, and of Candahar by Nott; and in furnishing Pot-

* Referring to a force under Major Renaud, then on its way from Allahabad to Cawnpore.

† *The Friend of India*, July, 1857.

tinger and Todd for the defence of Herat, inspired Butler and Nasmyth to throw themselves into Silistria, and Lake and Thompson to share the honours and the privations at Kars. But there is seldom a record of any defence so desperate and so heroic as that of Cawnpore by Sir Hugh Wheeler. When the news of the mutiny at Meerut reached him, he was in a town of a hundred thousand people, many of them armed, and many of these Mussulmans; he had no fort, and his troops were disaffected sepoys. Nevertheless, by the mere force of character, and the display of unshaken courage and confidence, he overawed the minds of all around him, and held his position till the 5th of June. All that time he had with him a few Europeans, who had been hastened up by the dâk carriages from Benares; but the whole force, consisting of soldiers of the Queen's 84th and the Madras fusiliers, and some artillerymen, did not exceed 150 men. The sepoys mutinied; and then he had only this force of 150 men to rely on, with about 40 officers of various regiments. With this small body of troops he had to protect the depôt of the Queen's 32nd, consisting of 120 women and children, and the whole Christian population of the place, which included civilians, merchants, shopkeepers, engineers, clerks, pensioners, and their families, to the number of nearly 400 persons. He had very short supplies of food and ammunition; and he was separated from the Ganges by a road, and by a line of houses with their compounds. Against him were assembled a body of men, probably exceeding 4,000 in number, animated with fanatical rage, and well supplied with ammunition, assisted by artillery, and led by a miscreant capable of any atrocity, and mad with disappointed ambition. Lucknow was not fifty miles off; but no help could be expected from that quarter; and relief from Allahabad was soon rendered doubtful by the tidings that there had been a mutiny there, and that a large body of insurgents had assembled in the city. From the first, it was doubtful if the intrenchments could be held for two weeks; but when the enemy obtained mortars, and sent shells among the crowded garrison, every day's resistance was protracted in despair. Many officers fell; the supplies were exhausted; all hope of relief seemed gone; the news of approaching help from the Delhi force, which once reached them, proved false; and it was resolved to make a sally, and, if possible, drive off the assailants. It may be supposed that everything which human daring could do, was done that day; but the forces of the enemy were overwhelming; they were enabled to use their artillery, and the dauntless leader of our countrymen fell mortally wounded. He was carried back to die; and then, reduced to the last extremity, the small remnant of the troops made terms, securing a safe passage down the river for the women and children, and all their other companions. This was on the 27th of June. It was the only resource left. But it only adds one more to the long catalogue of proofs, that it is infatuation to trust a Mahratta. Nana Sahib well knew how to keep the word of promise to the ear, but break it to the hope. He let the whole party embark and depart, and mocked them by permitting them also to take the treasure from their intrenchments. Then comes the moment for successful treachery. Suddenly his guns opened on the helpless fugitives. Some of them attempted to escape to the opposite side; but there they were met by cavalry, who waded into the water to hasten the work of destruction. One boat, which escaped some miles, was brought back, and doubtless completed the satanic joy of the assassin. The few who were preserved were kept as hostages, in the hope, that if the tide of success turned, he might purchase with them his own worthless life, and pardon for his crimes. But the last accounts speak of him as having perfected his massacre, and destroyed his last victim."

Such, however, was not the case; the measure of his iniquity was not yet full—"his massacre" had not yet been "perfected," or his pitiless vengeance glutted, even by the sacrifice of unarmed and wounded men: the slaughter of defenceless women and young children was yet wanting to supply a fitting climax to the solitary triumph of Nana Sahib.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE STATION AT FUTTEGHUR; DOUBTFUL FIDELITY OF THE 10TH REGIMENT; THE FORT PREPARED FOR DEFENCE; RUMOURED APPROACH OF THE SEETAPORE REBELS; ALARM OF THE EUROPEAN RESIDENTS; FLIGHT OF THE CIVILIANS AND FEMALES IN BOATS; MUTINY OF THE 10TH REPORTED; THE FUGITIVES SEPARATE FOR DHURRUMPORE AND CAWNPORE; LIST OF VOYAGERS TO THE LATTER STATION; THE 10TH RETURN TO THEIR DUTY; MURDER OF THE CAWNPORE FUGITIVES ON THEIR WAY DOWN THE GANGES; THE DHURRUMPORE PARTY RETURN TO FUTTEGHUR; SPONTANEOUS LOYALTY OF THE 10TH; ARRIVAL OF THE 41ST NATIVE INFANTRY OPPOSITE FUTTEGHUR; REVOLT OF THE 10TH; THE TREASURY PLUNDERED; EUROPEANS TAKE SHELTER IN THE FORT; QUARREL AND FIGHT BETWEEN THE 41ST AND 10TH REGIMENTS FOR A SHARE OF THE PLUNDER; THE FORT ATTACKED; DEFENCE OF THE BESIEGED; MINES EXPLODED, AND ATTEMPTED ESCALADE FRUSTRATED; LOSSES OF THE GARRISON; ANOTHER ESCAPE BY THE RIVER; LIST OF EUROPEAN FUGITIVES; THE BOATS ATTACKED; REACH CAWNPORE; SLAUGHTER OF THE MEN; WOMEN RESERVED; NARRATIVE OF MR. C. S. JONES; CORROBORATIVE DETAILS; DESCRIPTIVE LETTERS OF EUROPEAN OFFICERS.

It is necessary to diverge, for a short time, from the direct current of events at Cawnpore, that we may connect with the dire tragedy yet to be enacted at that place, a catastrophe more revolting in its monstrous details than even that described in the few preceding pages, and forming an important accessory to the future historical fame of the rajah of Bithoor.

Towards the latter part of the month of May, 1857, much anxiety was occasioned to the European residents in the vicinity of Futteghur*—a military station on the Ganges, near Furruckabad (Happy Abode), a town in the district of Agra, from which city the station was distant about ninety-five miles—in consequence of the dâk communications with the surrounding country becoming uncertain, and being eventually cut off by straggling bodies of mutinous soldiers that had overrun the district; and the alarm was not diminished by intelligence that a strong body of rebel cavalry was approaching the station. At this time, the troops in cantonment at Futteghur consisted of the 10th native regiment of infantry, under the command of Colonel Smith, with some European officers; and circumstances had occurred to warrant suspicion of the fidelity of the corps, if the tide of rebellion should surge up in its immediate neighbourhood. It had, therefore, been considered prudent to anticipate the probability of such an event, by putting the fort in as good condition to withstand an attack as possible, and to store in it a good supply of ammunition and provisions for the use of the European families, in the exigency of their being obliged to shut themselves up within its walls. At the same time, arrangements were made to secure the means of flight, if that alternative should become desirable; and some boats were hired, and kept in readiness, to convey the whole of the European community down the river to Cawnpore, where it was believed Sir H. Wheeler, with an English garrison, would be able to afford them protection.

In this unsatisfactory state matters continued during several days, until, on the 3rd of June, information arrived at the station of the revolt and massacres at Shahjehanpore and Bareilly, and that a large body of insurgents from Oude were then approaching the opposite bank of the river, with the intention to cross to Futteghur. A consultation was immediately held; and as there were no possible means at hand for successfully resisting an attack by the rebel force, even if the 10th could be relied on, it was thought advisable to accept, for the women and non-combatants, an offer of protection volunteered by a friendly zemindar, named Hardeo Buksh, who resided in a village called Dhurrumpore, on the Oude side of the Ganges, about twelve miles below the station. A flight to his residence was therefore at once resolved on; and the preparations for departure were complete, when

* This small station is of English origin, and was established as the cantonment for Furruckabad, from which town it is distant about three miles. The latter place has been of some importance in its time, and still contains a population of about 60,000 persons. Tents of a large and superior manufacture are the chief production of the industry of the inhabitants. Furruckabad has a strong mud fort adjoining the palace of the nawab, who has long been a stipendiary of the Company; and the chief civil authorities of the district have generally resided in the town, or its immediate vicinity. There was also a small fort in the vicinity of the cantonment at Futteghur.

some delay arose, through the civilians declaring they would not quit the scene of anticipated danger, unless the magistrates, Messrs. Thornhill and Lewis (who desired to remain at their posts with the military officers as long as possible), would consent to share the flight and fortunes of the rest of the party. After some hesitation, the desire of their friends prevailed with the magistrates; and at one o'clock in the morning of Thursday, the 4th of June, the whole of the females and children, and persons in civil employ, embarked, and quietly dropped down the river without exciting any alarm on either bank.

Upon the successful departure of the boats, the military officers repaired to their quarters in the fort; but, in the course of the same day, some of them overtook the fugitives, with intelligence that the 10th regiment had mutinied, insulted the colonel, seized the treasure, and fired on their officers, and that there was no probability of the escape of any of those that then remained at the fort. In addition to this ill news, it was stated that the Oude rebels were crossing, in great force, at one of the ghats a few miles down the river; and as the natives on both banks had already shown some hostile indications, and the chances of escape were likely to be diminished by the great number of the fugitives, it was determined that they should separate; Mr. Probyn (the collector of Futteghur), with about forty of the party, proposing to accept the offer of the zemindar at Dhurrumpore, and the rest proceeding on their way to Cawnpore. The last-mentioned division amounted to 126 persons, nearly all of whom were civilians and noncombatants. Most of these individuals had wives with them; and the children belonging to the whole, far exceeded the adults in point of numbers. The inability of the party to resist any serious interference, may therefore be imagined; but it is stated, that the fugitives, who occupied three boats, succeeded in reaching the neighbourhood of Bithoor about the 12th of June, without any previous interruption or annoyance. The following is believed to be an accurate list of the persons who left Futteghur on the 4th of June, and proceeded in the hope of finding protection with Sir Hugh Wheeler at Cawnpore:—

Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Monckton and child (engineer); Mr. and Mrs. Freeman; Mr. and Mrs. Campbell and two children; Mr. and Mrs. Johnston; and Mr. and Mrs. Macmullen (missionaries); Mr. Alexander; Mr. and Mrs. Ives and daughter (agent to the North-west Dâk Company); Mr. and Miss Maclean (planter and merchant); Mr. and Mrs. Guise (planter and merchant); Mr. and Mrs. Elliot and five children (superintendent of Dhuleep Sing's estate); two Misses Ray; Mr. and Mrs. Palmer and nine children (deputy collector); Mr. and Mrs. Macklin and eight children (head-clerk, collector's office); Mr. and Mrs. Joyce and four children (shopkeepers); Mr. and Mrs. R. Brierley and child (boat agent and coach-builder); Mr. and Mrs. J. Brierley and two children (clerk, collector's office); two Misses Brierley; Miss Finlay; Mr. Finlay and family; Mrs. Shepherd and family; Mr. and Mrs. Madden and family (clothing agency); Mr. and Mrs. Kew and family (postmaster); Miss Kew; Mr. and Mrs. Catencar (inspector of post-offices); Mr. and Mrs. Sheils and two children (schoolmaster); Mr. and Mrs. Cawood and three children (clothing agency); the head tailor of the clothing agency and family (name unknown); Ensign Byrne (10th native infantry); Mr. Billington (clerk); the head blacksmith and family G.C.A. (name unknown); Pensioner Faulkner and family; and Mrs. Macdonald and family.

Upon the arrival of Mr. Probyn and his party at Dhurrumpore, the officers already noticed as having reported the mutiny of the regiment, and the probable destruction of their comrades, were agreeably surprised by intelligence awaiting them, to the effect that Colonel Smith, and the officers who had remained with him at Futteghur, had prevailed on the men of his regiment to return to their duty, and that no appearance of further danger existed at the station. Mr. Probyn immediately directed that horses should be got ready; and, accompanied by his two military friends, rode back to the fort, to satisfy himself of the real state of affairs, which he found to accord with the report of the morning. The officers of course resumed their duties under Colonel Smith; and Mr. Probyn, after remaining at the fort two days, in which he arranged some business of his collectorate (left imperfect by his hasty flight), returned to Dhurrumpore, where, with his family and Mr. W. Edwards, the collector of Badaon, he continued under the protection of Hardeo Buksh, until the latter was threatened with death by the Oude

rebels, for the crime of harbouring the Feringhees.

Of the fate of the first division of the Futteghur community, which left that station on the 4th of June, we have the following brief detail, gathered from various reliable sources. The narrrative of Nerput, the opium agent, to which we have already referred,* gave the first intimation of a frightful act of bloodshed perpetrated upon some European fugitives in the neighbourhood of Bithoor, about the 12th of June; on which day he writes—"Report that Europeans were coming in boats to relieve Cawnpore; and two companies [of the Nana's troops] sent westward to make inquiries, they found that 126 men, women, and children were in boats sick. When the boats arrived at the part of the Ganges opposite Bithoor, the brother of the rajah stopped them, brought the people on shore, and shot every one. He then had their bodies tied together, and threw them into the river." Another native resident at Cawnpore, also before referred to,† states in his examination before Colonel Neill, that "on the 12th of June, just as the customary daily cannonading of the intrenchment was about to commence, a report came in that Europeans were approaching from the west. Immediately a troop of cavalry, and two companies of infantry, were sent to reconnoitre in the vicinity of Bithoor. There were found three boats, containing about 130 men, women, and children. The troopers seized them all, and took them to the Nana, who ordered that they should all be killed; and sundry Rampoorie sowars, whom the Nana kept with him for the express purpose, killed them all. Among them was a young lady, the daughter of some general. She addressed herself much to the Nana, and said, 'No king ever committed such oppression as you have; and in no religion is there any order to kill women and children. I do not know what has happened to you. Be well assured, that by this slaughter the English will not become less; whoever may remain will have an eye upon you.' But the Nana paid no attention, and showed her no mercy, and ordered that she should be killed, and that they should fill her hands with powder, and kill her by the explosion."

So complete was the destruction of this ill-fated company, that, beyond the fact of their inhuman murder, it is not probable much can ever be placed on record. They merely preceded their friends in the last trial that was to purify them for a happier state of existence; and as no detail of personal indignity has come down to us, in connection with the females and children of the party, their experience of the bitterness of death may, of the two, have been the least terrible.

The other portion of the fugitives stayed at Dhurrumpore only a few days, in consequence of the excited state of the district around them; and as they were themselves conscious that the position in which they were placed was not one on which they could rely for protection, if the rebels should persevere in seeking for them, it was determined to return to Futteghur; which, with the exception before mentioned, they accordingly did on the 13th of June; most of them then sleeping in the fort, and resorting to their several duties each morning. The boats were, nevertheless, still kept in readiness, in case a necessity should arise for again leaving the station. At this time the treasury belonging to the collectorate was removed to the parade-ground of the cantonment, and placed under the charge of Lieutenant Vibart, of the 2nd cavalry, who had a party of (it was believed) reliable men, with one gun for its protection.

An incident occurred about the 16th of June, calculated to inspire confidence in the loyalty of the regiment; and it certainly seems to have had the effect of removing any doubt that previously existed of the good feeling of the men, some of whom, by desire of their comrades, handed to Colonel Smith, on that day, a letter, addressed to the regiment by a subahdar of the 41st regiment (on its way from Seetapore *viâ* Shahjehanpore, and then but a few miles distant from Futteghur, on the opposite side of the river), calling upon the men to murder all their officers, as they (the 41st) had already done, and to seize the treasure, and join them on their way to Delhi, with the guns and ammunition. A subahdar of the 10th then informed the colonel, that in reply to this letter, the men had said, "they had served the Company Bahadoor too many years to turn traitors; that they were determined to abide 'faithful to their salt;' and advised the men of the 41st not to attempt to cross the river as rebels, or they would certainly oppose them." In confirmation of their assurances

* See *ante*, p. 323. † See *ante*, p. 329.

of fidelity, the sepoys of the 10th voluntarily and actively assisted in destroying the bridge of boats at Futteghur, and in sinking whatever vessels they could find at the different ghats, so that the advancing mutineers might be prevented crossing the river near the station.

Two days after this satisfactory demonstration on the part of the 10th regiment, an alarm was given in the cantonment, that a large body of insurgents, consisting of the 41st regiment, accompanied by a number of liberated gaol prisoners and vagabonds, collected on the way, and having with them an immense store of ammunition and two guns, had reached the Oude bank of the river, and were upon the point of crossing. The intelligence spread over the cantonments with the rapidity of light; and the loyalty of the sepoys of the 10th regiment—with all their professed attachment to their officers—vanished. In a state of wild excitement, they rushed in a body to the water-side, and, with shouts and gesticulations, welcomed the insurgent force that occupied the opposite bank. The interference of their officers was now utterly disregarded, and the insubordination of the regiment became uncontrollable. The colonel and officers, finding it useless to attempt persuasion, and having no means with which to enforce obedience, retired to the fort, in which the whole of the European residents left at the station were speedily collected; but Lieutenant Vibart, taking advantage of the confusion amongst the sepoys, rushed to the parade, and spiked the gun left there for the protection of the treasure. By this prudent act he greatly exasperated the mutineers, who had reckoned upon that gun for their own purposes, having already taken possession of the treasure left under their charge, and which they proceeded to divide amongst themselves before the arrival of their friends from the opposite bank of the Ganges.

The same duplicity that had veiled the treacherous intentions of the 10th regiment on the 16th of June, had also ensured the means of passage across the river for the rebel band from Seetapore; and by the middle of the day on the 18th, the whole of the 41st regiment were fraternising with their confederate traitors on the parade-ground of the cantonment at Futteghur, from whence the two regiments, with their followers, proceeded into Furruckabad; and having found the nawab, they placed him on the *guddee* (or throne), laid their colours at his feet, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns, in recognition of his authority. In reference to this particular act of the mutineers, it has been stated, upon native report, that the nawab declined to accept the colours offered him, but informed the men of the 10th regiment, that if they brought him the treasure belonging to the Company, he might not object to receive them into his service. This proposition was by no means agreeable to the sepoy robbers, who preferred to retain the plunder among themselves, and they at once returned to their parade-ground at Futteghur. The men of the 41st regiment now claimed a share of the treasure; but this was resolutely objected to, and the result was, a quarrel and a fight, in which the 10th, who had but little ammunition, suffered greatly: during the struggle, most of the officers' bungalows and public buildings were utterly destroyed, with a great amount of valuable property. The contest terminated by the thorough discomfiture of the 10th, the men of which corps then separated into two parties—one division crossing the Ganges into Oude, intending to make for their homes with such share of the treasure as they had contrived to retain; and the remainder continuing at Futteghur, where many of them were killed in daily quarrels with the 41st, because they refused to give up a portion of the plundered treasury to the traitors of that corps. The nawab of Futteghur, who was exceedingly active in seizing and destroying the property of the European and Christian residents, gave instructions to the people of the adjacent district to demolish the electric telegraph works, with the posts, wires, &c.; and he was readily assisted in the destructive operation by the villagers of Hosseinpore, a suburb of Futteghur, as well as by others along the line. By nightfall of the 20th of June, nothing fit for human habitation had been left standing in the cantonments; and the sentries of the nawab of Futteghur (who had assumed sovereign authority over the district) were posted at all the principal works and factories at Furruckabad.*

While these occurrences were progressing

* Of this personage it is alleged, that on the 2nd of July he caused four Europeans—namely, Mr. and Mrs. Birch, Mrs. Eckford, and Mrs. Defontaine—to be blown away from guns at Futteghur. These

without the fort, the persons shut up within it were subjected to continual apprehension of danger, and a second effort to escape by the river was proposed. The water of the Ganges had, however, become so low, that an uninterrupted passage for the boats could not be relied on, and it was eventually resolved to abide in the fort, which at the time sheltered upwards of 100 Europeans, including women and children. Of this number only thirty-three were capable of taking any active part in the defence of the place; and the first consideration was to strengthen the position. With this view, a 6-pounder, loaded with grape, was mounted over the gateway, and about 300 muskets in store were brought out and loaded, and conveniently placed for instant use. The magazine was searched for ammunition; and every convertible article met with was appropriated to the service of the guns. The able-bodied men of the party were then mustered, and divided into three sections, each under the orders of a military officer—Colonel Smith taking the command of the whole. A disaster deprived them of the aid of one of the number before the enemy had yet attacked them; Mr. Thornton, the magistrate, having wounded himself severely in the hand while loading his musket, and thereby incapacitating himself for duty.

Preparations for defence were now complete; but the first day passed over without annoyance. Intelligence was, however, conveyed to the fort that the 41st regiment were encamped near a tope about a mile westward of the fort, and were busied in completing their arrangements for an attack. At nightfall pickets were stationed at each bastion of the fort; but the night also passed without any movement on the part of the enemy. On the second day, two guns, 8 and 9-pounders, were placed in position, and, by the time the 41st appeared ready for offensive proceedings, seven guns had been mounted for the defence of the fort. At length, on the evening of the 26th of June, a number of Coolies, employed by Colonel Smith to pull down some walls that masked an approach to the fort, were fired upon by the rebels. An alarm was instantly sounded, which brought every man to his assigned post, and a few shots were exchanged, but without any result. The next morning the mutineers opened upon the fort with two guns; but, beginning before daybreak, their aim was uncertain, and, after a few rounds, they abstained from practice until daylight, when they recommenced, but without yet doing any serious mischief. The sepoys screened themselves behind trees, bushes, and anything that could afford shelter, still keeping up a heavy fire of musketry, but giving little opportunity to the besieged to get a shot at them in return.

The next day the two guns of the mutineers began play again, but from a different point, and doing little harm, as the shots merely passed over the bastion at which they were aimed. The discharge of musketry became heavier, and a movement was observed preparatory to scaling the fort; but the ladder-bearers were shot down as fast as they came within range. During the next four days the guns of the rebel force poured an unceasing torrent of shot against the fort, and several abortive efforts were made to accomplish an escalade. On the fifth morning a decided relaxation of the fire was observed from the direction of the tope; but, at the same time, it was discovered that some men of the 41st had stationed themselves on the roofs of houses in the vicinity of the fort, from whence they kept up a brisk fire upon the bastions. During this storm of leaden hail, Captain Phillimore of the 10th regiment, and Mr. Sutherland, a merchant of Furruckabad, with two or three of the native servants, were wounded. Some of the 41st had also taken up positions in a small outhouse, about seventy or eighty yards from the fort, where they loopholed the walls, and kept up a harassing fire that rendered the guns of the fort useless, as no one dared lift his head to take aim. The effect of the rebel fire upon the little garrison now began to tell seriously against it. Mr. Jones, of the gun-carriage agency department, was shot through the head while covering one of the gunners with his rifle; and on the following day, Colonel Tucker, of the clothing establishment, was also shot by the enemy. On the seventh

unfortunate individuals had, by some mischance, been unable to avail themselves of the protection of the fort, but had succeeded in effecting their escape into the country, where, after a few days, their retreat was discovered by some hostile villagers, and they were conveyed prisoners to the nawab, who gave orders for their destruction in the manner stated. He also further manifested his hatred to the Europeans, by ordering a reward of fifty rupees to be paid for every one that could be discovered and brought to him for the purpose of mutilation or slaughter.

day of the investment, Conductor Ahern, with a well-directed discharge of grape, blew away about a dozen men, who were constructing a breastwork for their riflemen on a wood-yard wall, which they had reached by means of a covered-way, constructed with jhow and sand-bags under the fire of their riflemen. Deterred by this occurrence from continuing the annoyance in that way, they next procured some sappers, with whose assistance they cut a hole through the wall, and by that means got into the yard, in which there was a large store of firewood and straw. They were suffered to occupy this position for two days; but, on the third, the straw and wood was set on fire, and the enemy driven out, nearly suffocated by the smoke. A mine was then commenced, at which they worked two nights, and early on the third morning it was sprung: the explosion shook the fort; but, besides alarming the garrison, it had little serious result, the whole damage being confined to five or six yards of the exterior wall of the yard, the inner wall remaining uninjured. As soon as the smoke and dust had partly cleared away, a body of rebels, numbering from 100 to 150, was observed gathering together near the breach, with the evident design of escalading the fort. A sharp and well-directed fire from the walls had the effect of dispersing the storming party for the moment; but, at a later period of the day, a second assault was attempted, which also was defeated by the Rev. Mr. Fisher shooting the leader of the forlorn-hope. His followers immediately fell back, and all further attempt at annoyance ceased for the day. It did not, however, pass without loss to the besieged, as the best gunner of the party, Conductor Ahern, was unfortunately shot through the head while laying his gun in position.

Undeterred by repeated failures, the enemy now brought a gun to bear upon a bungalow containing the ladies and children. The shots were ill-directed, and mostly passed over the building; but two or three struck it, and occasioned great consternation among the inmates. A gun was also pointed at the gate of the fort, but effected little harm, as the arch of the gateway had been filled up with timber, which effectually stopped the shots. Two guns in the fort were by this time disabled, and another mine was commenced near the *débris* of the first.

It may be imagined that the apparent determination of the enemy to persevere until they had accomplished their purpose, coupled with the loss of three of the most able among the defenders of the little garrison and its charge—namely, Captain Phillimore, Mr. Stapleton, and Conductor Ahern—must have had a dispiriting effect upon the inmates sheltered in the fort, if not upon their protectors, who were now worn out by over exertion and fatigue. It was also past doubt, that if the second mine was completed and fired, the enemy would make their next assault by both breaches, which it would be impossible the small force within the walls could effectually defend. The position of all had therefore become desperate, and once more the boats were looked to as offering the only practicable means by which they could hope to escape the danger that menaced them. Fortunately, by this time the river had become somewhat swollen by the rains; and as, after due consideration, it was determined to evacuate the fort, no time was now lost in carrying out the project. The ladies and children were divided into three parties, and, at midnight of the 3rd of July, they were got safely into the boats: the pickets were then quietly removed from their posts, the guns spiked, and the little remaining ammunition rendered unserviceable; and then the military officers, followed by Colonels Goldie and Smith, entered the boats. By two o'clock in the morning of the 4th the embarkation was complete, and the word was given to "let go;" but the boats had no sooner emerged from under the walls of the fort, than an alarm was raised—a volley of musketry pealed out over the river, and a cry resounded through the rebel host that the "Feringhees" were running away. The boats were quickly rowed into mid-stream; and although the sepoys followed along-shore for about a mile, keeping up an incessant fire, no damage was sustained—the vessels being fortunately out of the range of musketry.

The following is a list of the Europeans who left Futteghur on the morning of the 4th of July in the three boats:—

Colonel and Mrs. Smith (10th native infantry); Colonel and Mrs. Goldie and three daughters; Mrs. Tucker and four children (clothing agency); Miss Tucker; Mr. and Mrs. Thornhill and two children (judge of Futteghur); Miss Nancy Lang (maid-servant); Mr. and Mrs. R. N. Lewis and two children (joint magistrate); Dr.

and Mrs. Heathcote and two children (10th native infantry); Dr. and Mrs. Maltby (civil surgeon); Major and Mrs. Robertson and child (gun-carriage agency); Miss Thompson; Mr. and Mrs. Fisher and child (chaplain); Mrs. Sutherland and three daughters and one boy (merchant); Mr. and Mrs. Jones, and four children (engineer, G.C.A.); Mr. and Mrs. Roach and two children (road overseer); Mr. and Mrs. Ahern (clothing agency); Mr. and Mrs. Gibson and family (road overseer); Sergeant Redma and family (10th native infantry); Quartermaster-sergeant and family (10th native infantry); Mr. Best and family (bridge darogah); Pensioner Bosco and family; Major Munro (10th native infantry); Major Phillot (ditto); Captain Phillimore (ditto); Lieutenant Simpson (ditto); Lieutenant Swettenham (ditto); Lieutenant and Mrs. Fitzgerald and child (ditto); Ensign Henderson (ditto); Ensign Eckford (ditto); Captain Vibart (2nd cavalry); Mr. Jones and child, and Mr. Jones, jun. (planters and merchants); Mr. Donald, sen., and Mr. Donald, jun. (Badaon planters); Mr. Churcher, sen., and Mr. Churcher, jun. (planters and merchants); Miss Sturt; Mr. James (opium department); Drummer Knowles and family (10th native infantry); and two Messrs. Wrixen (band, 10th native infantry.)

One of the individuals named in the above list (Mr. C. S. Jones, it is presumed, of the gun-carriage agency establishment), to whose narrative we are indebted for the preceding facts, thus relates the subsequent incidents of this perilous expedition:—

"We had not proceeded far when it was found that Colonel Goldie's boat was much too large and heavy for us to manage. It was accordingly determined to be abandoned; so all the ladies and children were taken in Colonel Smith's boat. A little delay was thus caused, which the sepoys took advantage of to bring a gun to bear on the boats; the distance, however, was too great; every ball fell short. As soon as the ladies and children were all safely on board, we started and got down as far as Singhee Rampore without accident, although fired upon by the villagers. Here we stopped a few minutes to repair the rudder of Colonel Smith's boat, and one out of two boatmen we had was killed by a matchlock-ball. The rudder repaired, we started again, Colonel Smith's boat taking the lead. We had not gone beyond a few yards when our boat grounded on a soft muddy sand-bank; the other boat passed [illegible]ll hands got into the water to push her, but, notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not manage to move her. We had not been in this unhappy position half-an-hour when two boats, apparently empty, were seen coming down the stream. They came within twenty yards of us, when we discovered that they carried sepoys, who opened a heavy fire, killing and wounding several. Mr. Churcher, sen., was shot through the chest; Mr. Fisher, who was just behind me, was wounded in the thigh. Hearing him call out, I had scarcely time to turn round when I felt a smart blow on my right shoulder; a bullet had grazed the skin and taken off a little flesh. Major Robertson was wounded in the face. The boats were now alongside of us. Some of the sepoys had already got into our boat. Major Robertson, seeing no hope, begged the ladies to come into the water rather than to fall into their hands. While the ladies were throwing themselves into the water I jumped into the boat, took up a loaded musket, and, going astern, shot a sepoy. I loaded again, but finding no cap I was obliged to retreat, as the enemy were now coming in in great numbers. Lieutenant and Mrs. Fitzgerald were at this time sitting in a corner of the boat with their child. Lieutenant Fitzgerald had a loaded musket, with the bayonet fixed, in his hand. Mr. Churcher, sen., still lay weltering in his blood. The others had all got out of the boat into the water; Major and Mrs. Robertson, with their child and Miss Thompson, were standing close to each other beside the boat; Lieutenant Simpson and Mr. Churcher, jun., were near them also; I all this time lost sight of Major Phillot, Ensign Eckford, and a few others. I suppose they were killed. Mr and Mrs. Fisher were about twenty yards from the boat; he had his child in his arms apparently lifeless. Mrs. Fisher could not stand against the current; her dress, which acted like a sail, knocked her down, when she was helped up by Mr. Fisher. I now resolved to make an escape, if possible, to the leading boat, which I knew could not have proceeded far, so at once I struck out into the stream. Mr. and Mrs. Fisher continued in a distressing position when I passed them, unable to render any assistance. I saw Mr. Fisher again, alone, floating on his back; but soon lost sight of him,

as it was gettir a dark. I continued swimming for an hour or more, when, at some distance, I saw the other boat. On reaching her, I found everything in confusion; Mr. Rohan, the youngest Miss Goldie, a child, and the only manjee who was on board, were killed; Lieutenant Swettenham, Dr. Maltby, and one or two, were severely wounded opposite Singhee Rampore, by heavy fire of grape from two guns, planted on the heights by the sepoys who had followed us. We repaired the rudder, which had been damaged, and continued our voyage with heavy hearts all that night. Early the next morning a voice hailed us from the shore, which we recognised as Mr. Fisher's. He came on board, and informed us that his poor wife and child had been drowned in his arms; his wound was very painful, the ball having passed through the middle of the left thigh. We continued our voyage the whole of that day till we reached a village opposite Koosoomkhore, in the Oude territories. Here the villagers offered us assistance and protection. We at first feared treachery; but soon, convinced that they were friends, accepted their kind offers and put to shore for the night. We were all hungry, and begged the villagers to bring us some food, which they soon did, giving us chupatties and buffalo's milk, which greatly refreshed us. My wound had now become very painful, and my naked back having been exposed to the sun and rain all day, was smarting severely. The boat now, as I supposed, was anchored for the night. I determined to find rest in the village, as I had had none the two previous nights. I asked one of the thackoors if he could accommodate me with a charpoy for the night in his village. He at once took me with him, and gave me plenty to eat and a charpoy. By this time my back had become so very sore that I could find no ease in any position. At night a message came from Colonel Smith, saying the boat was going to leave. I was too weak, however, to pay any attention to it. A second and third came; but I would not go. I had determined to stand my chance, happen what might. The boat left. I heard nothing more of it for several days, till their manjee, who took her down, returned and gave out that Nana Sahib had fired upon them at Bithoor, and all on board were killed. I remained in the village for about a month, and subsequently joined Mr. Probyn, and came down with him to Cawnpore. Major Robertson and Mr. Churcher, jun., are said to be concealed in a village in Oude, near Futteghur."

The ultimate preservation of this gentleman may, under Providence, be attributed to his fortunate disinclination, or inability, to proceed with the rest of the party, whose onward progress merely accelerated the destruction that awaited them.

The following passages from a letter of the 15th of July, corroborate the preceding statement, and at the same time furnish some interesting particulars of subsequent occurrences connected with this portion of the tragic history:—

"After having fought incessantly for nine days and nights, and having killed no end of assailants, they were weary and done-up, and escaped, thirty together, by being let down into the boats, which, strange to say, had been provided by the nawab for them. They had six khitmutgurs only in the fort, and some of them accompanied the party in the boats. My informant says the Thornhills, Lewises, Fishers, Colonel and Mrs. Smith, Colonel Goldie, Major Phillot, poor Ned, the doctor and his wife, and several others, were among the refugees, and the 10th regiment officers, the artillery officers, and Vibart. Colonel Tucker was shot through the head whilst looking through one of the loopholes in the fort, and he and a Mr. Jones, who was also killed, were buried together; another gentleman was killed, but his name had been forgotten. Several of the servants belonging to Thornhill, Ned and others, who belong to this place, have arrived, and last evening I spoke to and examined poor Thornhill's khitmutgur, who was with the party in the boats; he confirmed the above, and says that they all proceeded safely after sticking on sandbanks, &c., to below Bithoor and near Cawnpore, where they made fast their boats, Ned being in the first one. They had few or no dandies, and gave a lot of money to the villagers, who promised to procure them. These brutes, instead of procuring dandies, gave word to the Nana; and his people, with palkies, gharries, &c., came down to the river, and took away all the poor people to the assembly-rooms at Cawnpore. Some of the servants fled, and some remained. The fugitives were kept in this room for two days on bread, salt, and water; and as soon as General

Havelock took the Nana's guns, and the Nana saw he was beaten, he bolted off, and sent into the assembly-rooms some fifty butchers and brutes, who cut-up and murdered every soul. This was, I suppose, on the 17th of July. I told the khitmutgur to come to me this morning; but it is their Bukreed. I fancy he was unable to come; but to-morrow I will take down his deposition *seriatim*, and cross-question others also. Ned is described most completely; and the way in which he managed and fired the guns at Futteghur evidently struck the Khit, for he alluded to it himself. The doctor's wife had a baby, just at starting with the boats or immediately before, and the brutes at Cawnpore took it, placed it on a plank, and pushed it off on the river. Mrs. Lewis had a baby, which her old ayah had charge of, and on no terms whatever would she give her to the savages; and it ended by the sowars killing them both together. If this statement is correct, it would seem that the poor fugitives were within an ace of escaping: their stopping caused their death; and, poor people, could they have held on for another forty-eight hours at Futteghur, the rebels would not have been able to continue firing on them, as they were almost out of ammunition, and collected stones to fire."

A letter from an officer of the Futteghur garrison, who happily survived the perils that environed the gallant band with whom he was associated, gives the following additional details of the occurrences within the fort and, subsequently, on the river.

"During the siege, a ball grazed the head of Colonel Goldie, but did no great harm. Mr. Thornhill, C.S., injured his arm with his pistol; and some of the ladies (among them one of the Misses Goldie and a girl about twelve or fourteen years of age) were wounded. Great mischief was done by the insurgents, who had taken up their position on the roof of a high two-storied house in Hosseinpore, which overlooked the fort, and the besieged had great difficulty in making a covered-way to protect their servants, to enable them to pass to and fro with the meals for the ladies and children, who were collected in a room, or godown, to the lee of the two-storied house. The nawab seems to have done all he could against the English, and holds possession of all their property—houses, carriages, valuables, &c.—with the exception of Mr. Probyn's, which is with Hardeo Buksh. There does not appear to have been any deficiency of substantial food inside the fort, such as meal, flour, tea, rice, &c.; but the great want was milk and light food for the children. The immediate reason for leaving the fort is not known; but it would seem that all hands were embarked about the 10th of July on board three boats, which were kept ready under the fort, and into them the ladies and children were let down one morning, at about two o'clock. In one boat there was nothing but Colonel Goldie's property, and it was abandoned before daybreak. On the other two boats all the fugitives were distributed; but there were only one or two *dandies* (or boatmen) between them. They proceeded down the Ganges with great difficulty, as they started with the first rise of the river, and the channels were invisible. At dawn they reached a village, about two *koss* (four miles) from Futteghur, where money was advanced to the boat-dandies to procure men to help them; but, instead of dandies being brought, information was taken to the nawab's people, and a large multitude came down to the river to seize the boats and their inmates. A good deal of fighting passed; and before the whole of the fugitives could be collected into one boat, Lieutenant Simpson was shot dead; and as he appeared to be personally arranging about the boats, confusion followed, when Mrs. Jones, one of the Miss Goldies, a daughter of a stout elderly gentleman (name not remembered, but stated as Maclean, or some such name), and the girl of twelve or fourteen years of age, were all seized, and taken off by the mob to the nawab. A sepoy, named Kalley Khan, said to belong to the 10th regiment, was in this boat, and used his utmost endeavours to rescue the party, hiding Mrs. Jones and taking care of the child. Eventually, Miss Goldie, the other young lady, and the girl were taken up to the nawab, and on remonstrating about their quarters and food, they were accommodated with a house in one of the nawab's gardens. Mrs. Jones's fate is not known. Colonel Goldie's baggage-boat having been abandoned, and the second boat left behind after Lieutenant Simpson was shot and the remaining inmates had been seized, the fugitives proceeded together in the third boat, which is described to have been a light fast-pulling one, well provisioned, and well supplied with guns, ammunition, and fire-arms.

There were on board also four *syces* (grooms) and two *khitmutgurs* (table-servants), who, together with the gentlemen on board, pulled the boat, under the guidance of a very true and faithful old *manjee* (boatman), an inhabitant of Futteghur. The fugitives were chased and fired at all the way down the river, but managed to escape as far as Bithoor, opposite or near to which town the manjee was unfortunately shot, and their boat grounding in consequence on a chur, was brought up. No sooner was this seen than the boat was surrounded, seized, and taken on to Cawnpore.

"The following names have been given to me as those of some of the fugitives who were on board the boat; the names of others are not known; but they were all taken to the assembly-rooms, the children being conveyed in vehicles, but the rest proceeding on foot. *En route* they do not appear to have been molested or annoyed in any manner, and, from what I can gather, some respectable people interceded at the ghat for some or for all the party, but to no purpose:—Colonel Goldie and one daughter; one daughter taken to the nawab; Colonel and Mrs. Smith (10th regiment), and two children; Major Phillot; a major (name unknown), with wife and child; Mrs. Colonel Tudor Tucker and three children; Mr. and Mrs. R. B. Thornhill, C.S., nurse, ayah, and two children; Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, C.S., and two children; one was held by the ayah, who would not give it up, but went with it to the assembly-rooms, and it is thought they were murdered together; the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. F. Fisher and one child; Mr. Edward M. James, assistant in the opium department, and his oregah-bearer, who would not leave him, and was murdered, it is supposed, with the others; two Mr. Jones's—one killed in the fort; doctor, with wife, and child a few days old (the brutes floated off the child on the Ganges on a plank from the boats between Bithoor and Cawnpore); a stout elderly gentleman (name like Maclean), with two grown-up daughters, one said to have been engaged to Lieutenant Vibart; the collector (Edwards); two Macdonalds: these three were Badaon fugitives, the rest of whom are said to have gone to Agra. Independent of the above, there were sergeants, writers, band-boys, and the officers of the 10th, together with their wives and families.

"The sufferings of the fugitives *en route* from Futteghur to Cawnpore were great. The hands of the gentlemen who were on board and pulled the boats were greatly blistered, and they were worn out with fatigue and incessant hard work inside the fort. Several of their servants had fled from Futteghur, and the poor ladies and children had but little attendance. This, I think, more than anything else disheartened the besieged; for could they have held on but a little longer all would have been right, as the mutineers and insurgents had expended their ammunition, the Ganges had commenced rising, and our troops were on the point of reoccupying Cawnpore; but God's will be done!

"This statement has been prepared from information given by Mr. R. B. Thornhill's khitmutgur, and Mr. Edward M. James's syce; and some friends have compared it with information which has been communicated to them, but no discrepancies of any moment have been discovered."

The subjoined statement is from an officer on the staff of Brigadier-general Neill, at Cawnpore, who says, under date of August 1st—"I believe I am at present the only one in the whole army who knows the fate of each individual of the unfortunate Futteghur community—I mean the officers and civilians. I give a list to you, as it may be useful. The nawab of Futteghur has taken up arms against us. To begin with the 10th native infantry:—Colonel and Mr. Smith both reached this station in a boat just in time to form part of the awful massacre in that detestable house on the 15th of July. I had better premise that three country boatloads of people left Futteghur at midnight of the 10th or 11th, or 12th of July, and that two of those boats were blown into the shore by a head-wind on the next morning, and the third being well out in the stream, managed to escape showers of round shot, &c., and came on to near Bithoor, where they fell into the hands of the Nana's son, and the Europeans were all sent in here immediately. The wretches who attacked and killed the Futteghur people were the sepoys of the 41st native infantry and irregular cavalry, with artillery on one bank, and villagers with matchlocks on the other. Major Munro was killed by a round shot near Bithoor; Major Phillot was drowned at Singhee Rampore (the place where the two boats were driven on to the bank); Captain

Bignell went off with some sepoys of his regiment, who promised to protect him; and his fate is unknown. There is a zemindar who lives about five or six koss from Futteghur, and has been faithful to government and friendly to Europeans through this business. Some few Europeans are, I believe, still under his protection; Captain Phillimore got a shot in the leg in the little fort at Futteghur, and was shot dead at Konahere Bithoor; Lieutenant Fitzgerald leaped into the river with his wife and child at Singhee Rampore, and were (three) drowned. Lieutenant Swettenham was killed at Singhee Rampore; —— Henderson was brought into Cawnpore, and killed there on the 15th; the doctor of the 10th (I don't know his name) was killed, along with his wife and child, at Cawnpore, on the 15th; the station doctor (I suppose poor Maltby; but my informant, an eye-witness, did not know his name), with his wife and family, shared the same fate as the doctor of the 10th; Colonel Tucker (9th light cavalry), the clothing agent, was shot dead in the fort at Futteghur; Mrs. Tucker and three children, and Colonel Tucker's sister, were all massacred here on the 15th; Captain Watson (the gun-carriage agent) and his wife and one daughter, and Mrs. Watson's sister, all jumped into the river at Singhee Rampore. The chaplain (I don't know his name) was murdered here on the 15th; his wife and child jumped into the river at Singhee Rampore, and were drowned: he jumped in also, and swam three or four koss, until he overtook Colonel Smith's boat, which had gone on, but was then sticking on a sand-bank; the orphan-school missionary, supposed to have been killed at Mehndee Ghât, about seven koss below Futteghur, where a Mr. Maclean, who was also killed (an indigo factor), lived; the collector, his wife, and two daughters (their names I don't know—something like Lewis), all killed here on the 15th; Colonel Goldie and one daughter killed here on the 15th; the other daughter had her head shot clean off by a round shot at Singhee Rampore. The sessions judge (my informant knew him by no other name), his wife, two grown-up daughters, one child, and one European servant, were all murdered here on the 15th."

The above memoranda anticipate, by a short period, the final act of atrocity perpetrated at Cawnpore by Nana Sahib, and of which the brutal massacre of helpless women and children formed the climax. To that frightful page in the history of Hindoo vengeance we must presently refer: meantime it is necessary to trace the progress of events in connection with Cawnpore, and its ultimate relief from the date of the occurrences of the 27th of June, as recorded in the closing pages of our last chapter.

CHAPTER XX.

REINFORCEMENTS FROM ALLAHABAD UNDER MAJOR RENAUD; THE STEAMER "BERHAMPOOTA;" ADVANCE OF GENERAL HAVELOCK; JUNCTION OF THE FORCES; BATTLE OF FUTTEHPORE; OFFICIAL DESPATCH; THE CAMP AT KULLEANPORE; MISCONDUCT OF THE OUDE IRREGULAR HORSE; BATTLE OF PANDOO NUDDEE; GENERAL HAVELOCK'S DESPATCHES; ACTIONS OF THE 16TH OF JULY; DEFEAT OF THE REBELS BEFORE CAWNPORE; THE BIVOUAC; ENTRY INTO CAWNPORE; ANTICIPATIONS OF THE VICTORIOUS TROOPS; THE SUBADA KOTHEE; VESTIGES OF THE SLAIN; THE HOUSE; THE WELL; INSCRIPTIONS; MEMORANDA OF THE VICTIMS; MAHRATTA ROLL OF THE PERSONS MASSACRED; PRIVATE LETTERS; MR. SHEPHERD'S STATEMENT, AND LETTER; DESPATCHES OF GENERAL HAVELOCK; ARRIVAL OF GENERAL NEILL; RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE.

DURING the progress of the frightful drama of which the last and crowning act at Cawnpore is about to be developed, the authorities at Allahabad were painfully alive to the dangers that appeared to menace that station, although, from the interruption of all communication, they were not aware of its extent and terrible reality. On the 1st of July, a column of troops, consisting of 400 Europeans, 300 Sikhs, and 120 irregular cavalry, with two guns, under the command of Major Renaud, was dispatched from Allahabad, for the relief of Sir Hugh Wheeler; and, on the same day, Brigadier-general Havelock informed the commander-in-chief that a supporting

column, of the strength of two full British regiments, with six guns, and some volunteer cavalry, would follow in six or eight days. On the 2nd, the brigadier reported to the commander-in-chief, that intelligence of the fall of Cawnpore had been received from Sir H. Lawrence, but was not believed by the authorities at Allahabad; that a steamer, with a hundred Europeans, armed with Minié rifles, and two 6-pounders, would be dispatched on the following morning to relieve Wheeler, or co-operate with the column under Major Renaud; and that General Havelock himself would march on the 4th to assist Major Renaud, with 1,000 Europeans and three guns. Havelock's movement did not, however, take place until the 7th. In the afternoon of the 3rd, a telegram to the governor-general and commander-in-chief, imparted the following intelligence from Allahabad:—

"The steamer started this morning with provisions for Sir H. Wheeler, and a hundred fusiliers, with two guns on board, to proceed with all dispatch towards Cawnpore; and if it still be ours, to communicate with Sir Hugh; and if it has fallen, to keep out of range of their guns, after moving as near as possible to Cawnpore, and there await General Havelock's orders, or drop in the river at once, abreast of his force, and advance with it. I do not credit the report by the Cossid yesterday, that Cawnpore had fallen. I feel confident Wheeler still holds out. General Havelock has halted Renaud's force. It is strong enough for anything that could be brought against it; and, if the report is true, should move on steadily to Futtehpore, to be there overtaken by the general. The steamer, besides the great effect it will produce upon the Ganges, will co-operate with the advance by land."

So far, then, operations had actually commenced for the relief of Cawnpore. Unhappily they had been retarded, perhaps unavoidably so, until the object sought to be accomplished—namely, the relief of the European inhabitants—was no longer possible. Tracing the progress of the troops now dispatched on their way to the "city of blood," it will be necessary, in the first place, to refer to some extracts from a letter of Captain Spurgin, the officer in charge of the troops on board the *Berhampoota* steam-vessel, descriptive of incidents connected with his passage up the river; although in part anticipatory of events hereafter detailed. He says—"I was dispatched with 100 of my men, two guns, and twelve artillerymen (the 1st fusiliers), in the steamer, which was placed at my command and under my orders, to proceed to Cawnpore, and assist a land column of 400 more of my regiment in relieving the garrison, which had been surrounded for many weeks by a force of 2,000 rebel sepoys, who were well supplied with ammunition of all kinds, as they had made themselves masters of our magazines, arsenals, &c. A steamer had not been up this way for many years, and the trial then was a failure; so, as the country was in the rebels' hands on both banks of the river, you may imagine I did not start with a light heart, especially as everybody said I could not do it; however, I did not urge a single objection; and I thank God I have arrived here in safety, without the loss of a single man or follower, though I have many a hole in the steamer, to show what round shot will do to an iron steamer. We had no coals, and had to forage for fuel every day; and as we commenced the second day to collect it, under fire of about 500 matchlockmen, in the Oude country, with a big gun, my prospect of getting to Cawnpore looked bad; however, I set the followers to work for the wood, took half my men with rifles to thrash the enemy, which we did in half-an-hour, besides charging them and taking their gun; and in less than two hours we were under steam; but the Ganges is such a rapid river, that we could scarcely move against the stream: never got more than two miles an hour; and now and then had, when going round a corner, to leave some of the boats we were towing, with our provisions, wood, &c., and get them round one at a time. Our second attack we escaped without hurt, only two round shot lodged in some safe part of the vessel; besides, we were at some distance from the fellow, who was pitching into us from a high bank; but with our Enfield rifles we managed to kill one and wound five—so he told us afterwards; for I had a little correspondence with him after that. About the third day, I had information sent me that the Cawnpore garrison had fallen by treachery; the scoundrels promised them a safe passage to Allahabad by the river if they would give in; but no sooner did they get hold of the garrison than they

massacred all the men. Upon this news, I was ordered to keep with General Havelock's column, which had been sent on to strengthen our first party, adding some 1,200 men to the force; and we went our daily distance together—they by land, I by water; but as I was waiting for General Havelock's force to reach me (we were from five to eight miles from each other every day), and as we were taking it easy, late one afternoon, whack came a round shot across our deck, breaking the spoke of a gun-wheel, and taking off a man's pouch; then another through the vessel's iron side. We soon returned the compliment from our guns and rifles at about 900 yards' distance; but their guns were so completely hidden by long grass, that we could only fire at their smoke. It took us an hour to get up steam and move over to them; but we saved several men's lives by piling up the bedding and the vallises round the deck. The shot then went into the bedding, cutting up the contents; but were effectually stopped at that distance. By the time we got across the river, some 300 matchlock-men were ready on a high bank, their guns in a marsh in front of them, but not to be seen; so, as it was getting dark, I thought discretion was the best, and moved off for the night out of range. The next morning the fellows were all gone. I waited here for two days, and was told that two guns were waiting for me a little higher up. I got up steam, and was going off, when a letter was sent me from a powerful zemindar, an Oude man, the owner of the two guns, saying, that he had heard I had a steamer full of Europeans, and was about to attack him, but that he begged I would not do so, as he was a faithful servant of government, &c. I believe it was the same scoundrel that fired upon me; but he had heard, also, that our land column had that morning had their first brush with the rebels, and taken eleven guns, so he thought it best to knock under at once. I passed his town about two hours afterwards; he had two guns in position, a lot of horsemen, and a cloud of matchlockmen; but my object was to get to Cawnpore, and cross our troops over to the Lucknow side in the steamer; so I left my friend in peace. He had a beautiful place, and a large house or castle-looking place, which, from its position, height, &c., put us all in mind of Windsor Castle. At my next difficult place to pass, the owner also sent me a letter of submission; so I completed my voyage in peace yesterday at noon.

"The Oude bank of the river is most beautiful all the way, and has a parklike appearance—large trees, and green lawns covered with cattle, and ploughs going. No wonder a governor-general coveted the country. If he had disarmed it we should have had less work to do now; but it must be done; for it is a country of robbers, who will loot anybody and anything. The land column was met by the rebels twice before it entered Cawnpore. It took, in all, twenty-six guns, and has now driven the scoundrels some miles out of the station. It is, as I am writing, still in pursuit; but we have no cavalry, so I fear they will yet escape punishment. Our hands are tied till we get more troops, especially cavalry; and I fear we cannot move on to Lucknow for many days to come; for a large force must be left here, and I don't suppose our present movable column exceeds 1,500 men of all arms. More are on their way from Calcutta; and by this time, I trust, a goodly force has set sail from England. We must have a force now of 20,000 sent, and added to this present European Indian force, which has been reduced to such an extent that the present outbreak has arisen. For years these Mohammedans have been biding their time, and trying to get the Hindoos to help them; and they have succeeded for a time. One old subahdar, the other day, who was not quite so bad as his neighbours, and who had got some of his officers to escape, put a bag of money (£90) in one of their hands, and said—'You English must now go; we have now got the Hindoos on our side; we are too strong; and our arrangements are so complete, nothing can resist us; besides, you have made a great mistake; you think the king of Oude is at the head of this; but it is the king of Delhi who is to be king of India. As soon as you have gone, I then take all the troops here to Delhi.' This occurred near Benares; but after the officers were in boats, the brutes of sepoys went after them, and shot them and took the money; but it is more than I can write to tell you of all the frightful scenes that have occurred and are still taking place. No one would believe that men who have lived a civilised life under our rule for so many years, could have committed these atrocities, and really without reason, except that they have been

treated too kindly. The cause of the outbreak, and of so many being among the rebels is, that the heads of the mutiny have worked upon the sepoys' minds, that it was the intention of the English to make Christians of the whole of the army and people of India; and they had worked them up to such a pitch, that the greased cartridges coming just at the time, and those little cakes being cleverly and artfully distributed by the post-office authorities to nearly every village in India, settled the business. Natives—especially those high-caste north-country fellows—would lose anything rather than their caste; so they have given up pay, pension, life, and everything, where they thought it was in danger, and made a vow that every Christian in the country should be murdered; and not only the white people, but all half-caste and other Christians have been destroyed wherever they could be met with.

"All along this river, the indigo-planters and railway officials have been killed, and their houses burnt and property destroyed. Every cantonment looks as if some dreadful earthquake had shaken and destroyed it; for the very walls of the houses have been knocked down. It was a work soon accomplished; for the sepoys having sacked the treasury and murdered their officers and their families, the bad characters of the city (which is always near a cantonment) soon completed the work of destruction. All civil government is for the present at an end, and the whole country a blaze of fire; for one village turns out to loot and burn its smaller neighbour, to be itself served in the same way before the night is out. Next year there will be a famine, for all are now afraid to work, and this is the seed-sowing time; so the sufferings of the population of India will be dreadful. Every sepoy that is caught is immediately hanged."

Resuming the details connected with the land operations of the relieving force, it appeared that, on the afternoon of the 7th of July, General Havelock, with the main body, consisting of 600 of the 78th highlanders, 500 of the 64th, and 600 of the 1st Madras fusiliers, with six guns, marched from Allahabad, with the intention to overtake the column of Major Renaud. The rains had already set in, and an incessant fall during the two preceding days had thoroughly penetrated the tents, and soaked the baggage and clothing of the troops. On the morning of the 7th the weather had cleared up a little, and the order to march was issued; but as the column began to move, the rain again poured down, and a gloomy foreboding of the end of a march so inauspiciously commenced, seemed to oppress every one. For the first two miles the route of the drenched troops lay through the streets of the city, which were lined by the inhabitants, who swarmed on the housetops in crowds to behold this stern and angry demonstration of their offended rulers. Of the Hindoo spectators, many affected an indifference that ill comported with their idolatrous veneration for their country and its institutions; but wherever the Mohammedan inhabitants were congregated, the intense hatred that raged within them, and the scorn with which they contemplated the power that was destined to avenge the crimes of their co-religionists, were shown by scowling brows and audibly muttered imprecations. The first night of the march so unpropitiously commenced, the encampment was pitched in a snipe swamp; and as the tents and provisions did not come up until long after dark, the condition of the men, who were both wet and hungry, was wretched in the extreme.

After proceeding by regular marches for the first three days, Brigadier Havelock received intelligence that induced him to accelerate the movement of his force, that he might as quickly as possible effect a junction with the advanced column of Major Renaud. The troops were accordingly pressed forward by the Great Trunk-road, which, at many places, exhibited proofs that an avenger had preceded them in their destined work; the carcasses of mutineers and plunderers being suspended in groups upon the trees near the roadside. An officer, who writes on the fourth day's march from Allahabad, says—"Vestiges of the mischief done by the sepoys meet the eye in every direction: bullock-train carts destroyed and scattered on the road; the electric telegraph wire, from within nineteen miles of Allahabad, taken off the posts and thrown about the fields; the latter being cut down and removed. The wire furnishes these rascals with offensive materials. They cut it up, and use it as slugs against us. In our march this morning, we saw four of the rebels that were hanged. We also heard several reports, which appeared to proceed from big guns at no great distance in our neighbourhood, and thought that the bri-

gade that had preceded us had fallen in with the enemy and were engaged. Our slow matches were lighted, and we were prepared for an engagement too. Most of the villages in the vicinity of the main road are burnt and destroyed."

During the intervals that occurred between the torrents of rain, the sun's rays were so intensely overpowering, that numbers of the men were smitten down, and died; but the native energy of the troops, and the natural desire felt by all to relieve or avenge their fellow-countrymen at Cawnpore, enabled them to endure as well the fierce and shadowless beams of an Indian sun, as the perilous, but far less dreaded onslaught of Indian rebels.

While the main body was thus advancing towards Cawnpore, a strong party of irregular horse scoured the villages on the right bank of the Ganges, which were for the greater part already deserted by the zemindars. The progress of the column under Major Renaud met with no serious resistance; every obstacle that appeared in his path being promptly thrust aside or trampled down; and thus he cleared the country as he advanced, occasionally falling in with and capturing straggling bodies of the insurgent sepoys and Goojurs, who were chiefly occupied in plundering such villagers and others as were less mischievously disposed than themselves. To these depredators little time for "shrift" was allowed; and a stout cord or a bullet inevitably terminated their career. The process was abrupt, and might be deemed cruel, but for the too painfully acquired knowledge, that mercy to the race then in arms against the whole European community throughout a vast extent of British India, would simply have been to abet a system of indescribable ruffianism, and to encourage the most revolting outrages upon humanity.

On the 9th of July, Colonel Neill, commanding at Allahabad, reported to the governor-general in council thus:—"Nothing from the general's camp; but from Renaud's, on the 8th. All well—were moving on that afternoon four and a-half miles, and will continue to Futtehpore. Keeping up the river communication is of great consequence. Please impress this on the general. The *Berhampoota*, 30-horse power, has not power enough. A light, powerful steamer (60-horse), armed with partly European crew, would be invaluable for the Ganges, overawing the people, taking stores, &c., as far as Cawnpore. Can't one or two be procured?"—This question was replied to, on the 12th, by a telegram from the governor-general, announcing that a steamer of 60-horse power, drawing four and a-half feet, mounting four 12-pounder howitzers, or 9-pounder guns, "if possible," manned by forty seamen, and towing two pinnaces, each having a gun of its own, would start for Allahabad in three days. The telegram then announced to Colonel Neill as follows:—"You are appointed brigadier-general, and will thereby stand next to General Havelock; Sir Henry Lawrence is made major-general, and will take chief command as soon as he is set free to do so."

The advanced position of Major Renaud's column had become dangerous, in consequence of the daily increasing strength of the enemy, from whom he was now but a few miles distant. Thus necessity for even increased speed to effect a junction was obvious; and accordingly, on the 10th, the column under Brigadier Havelock marched fifteen miles without halting, to a village named Synee. Here they rested for a short interval, resuming their route an hour before midnight; and, after a few miles, the whole force came up with the advanced division of Major Renaud. The troops having joined, marched without halting to a place called Khaga, about five miles from Futtehpore, which they reached soon after dawn, and took up a position, resting on their arms, until a party of volunteer horse, under the command of Major Tytler, which had been sent about two miles in advance to reconnoitre, should return with their report. The opportunity for a meal was eagerly seized by the tired and hungry men, and the usual preparations for breakfast under such circumstances were speedily in operation on all sides. One of the officers attached to General Havelock's column, referring to this halt, says—"The main body of the force had marched twenty-four miles that morning, and the general hope was for breakfast rather than a fight. Men and officers had lighted their pipes, and a cluster of us were assisting at the manufacture of a brew of tea, when one, who had been employing himself with his field-glass, drew the attention of his neighbours to our small party of volunteer horse, who were returning before their time."

The necessity for this premature return of the reconnoitring party, is thus explained by one of the volunteers engaged in it:—"At 6 A.M. on the 11th, we found ourselves

close to Futtehpore, where there was known to be an intrenched camp in the enemy's possession. We, mustering twenty in all, a few of the irregulars, and a company of fusiliers, were pushed forward, and approached towards the place. Tytler, our quartermaster-general, went close up, and was taking a good survey of the place, when the whole force rushed out on him; he galloped back to us, and we stood still there till the guns opened on us with round shot, and their cavalry skirmished on our flanks. The irregulars tried to bolt, but were stopped by the Madras fusiliers. We then retired slowly on our camp, the enemy following."

As the reconnoitring party neared the camp, a large body of the enemy's cavalry emerged from a tope on the further edge of the plain, in rapid pursuit. Instantly the bugle sounded—the meal was abandoned, the ranks fell in, and the bayonets of our warriors glittered aloft with a brightness that was soon to be dimmed by the blood of the rebellious host before them.

At this moment the sun blazed forth with an intensity of heat scarcely endurable. The general, commiserating the fatigued condition of his men, would fain have been spared the imperative necessity for calling them to renewed exertion before their strength and energies were properly recruited: the audacity of the enemy left him, however, no alternative but immediate action. A large body of the rebel infantry, with some guns, had followed the horsemen from Futtehpore, and having got their field-pieces in position, opened fire at long range, as if daring our troops to the attack. The challenge was understood as an invitation, and it was promptly and cheerfully accepted.

As the troops formed for the advance, General Havelock rode down the column of the 78th regiment, which had served with him in the Persian war; and, addressing the men, said—"Highlanders! when we were going to Mohamrah, I promised you a field-day. I could not give it you then, as the Persians ran away; but, highlanders, we will have it to-day, and let yonder fellows see what you are made of."—The British cheer that followed this brief address, unmistakably expressed the gratification imparted to every man by the promise of their general.

And now the troops got the word to advance! Guns and skirmishers were ordered to the front; the artillery pushed on in line with the Enfield rifles, and soon came into close action with the guns of the enemy, of which three were taken after a brief interchange of shots that established the superiority of the English fire by its precision and rapidity. From these guns the enemy made a hasty retreat, and fell back upon a second battery formed on the road in their rear, where they again attempted to make a stand. Meantime the skirmishers on both sides were warmly engaged, and the enemy's cavalry were moving round, trying to outflank the line; so that the advance of our guns was retarded by having to halt and open fire to the right and left, in order to check the horsemen and drive them from our flanks. The movement of the artillery was a work of exceeding labour; for the ground to be traversed consisted almost entirely of irrigated fields, in their softest and muddiest state, so that the wheels sank almost to the axles at every turn; and it was all the tired bullocks could do, though assisted by the hearty efforts of the gunners at the wheels, to get the pieces along. At length, however, every difficulty was surmounted, and our artillery again came into action with the enemy's guns and infantry directly in front. Of the latter, a large body was discovered in the rear of the battery; and conspicuously amongst them was an *elephant* richly caparisoned, bearing some personage of note, who evidently was in command of the whole rebel force, as the movements of each division appeared to be directed from that quarter. The advantage of an elevated position was not, however, long possessed by the individual, whoever he was, as a well aimed shot from one of our batteries, commanded by Captain Maude of the artillery, passed right through the elephant, and brought the animal and its rider to the ground. This untoward interruption to the duties of the commanding officer of the rebel force, seemed to be a signal for another retrograde movement on the part of the enemy, who again abandoned their guns, and sought safety in a rapid flight. Our already tired men pursued as quickly as possible, and a running fight was kept up until the town of Futtehpore* came in

* This is a town of some magnitude, about 48 miles from Cawnpore, and 75 W.N.W. of Allahabad. It is large and well built, and there are several large but decayed edifices in its vicinity. It does not appear to have any peculiar claim to be distinguished from other towns of secondary importance in the province of Bengal, either as regards its architecture or its cleanliness.

sight. Here, for a brief space, the routed enemy attempted to make a stand amongst and behind the gardens and houses of the inhabitants, but they were speedily dislodged and driven out by our men, whose blood was up, and their desire for a justifiable vengeance yet unsatisfied.

At the entrance of the main street at Futtehpore, the road was blocked up by a barricade of carts and baggage waggons. It was so close and firm, and placed in such an advantageous position, that it was supposed to be a defence thrown up by the foe, and that here they meant to make a firm stand; but by the time the artillery had thrown in a few shrapnels, and the skirmishers had worked round to the flanks, it was discovered that the supposed barricade was nothing more than an immense cluster of the enemy's baggage, which had got jammed up into such a mass of confusion between the houses on either side of the street, that they were obliged to abandon it. In the midst of the ruck were two new 6-pounders, with limbers and ammunition complete, besides large stores of gun and musket ammunition; and a little beyond all this two tumbrils of treasure were found, one of which fell into the hands of the Sikhs, and was no more seen.

This was a grand chance for "loot," and all hands, Europeans and natives, were soon at work investigating the contents of the baggage waggons. Ladies' dresses, worsted work, and other memorials of our unhappy lost countrywomen, constantly came to light amongst the spoils, and made the men yet more determined to punish the ruthless destroyers of English women and children.

It took some little time before the mass of baggage could be sufficiently cleared off to either side for the artillery to get through. At length this was accomplished, and the guns, rapidly passing on, fired their last shot at the enemy's infantry, which was now in full flight about a mile on the other side of the town. During the action the rebel cavalry had been incessantly hanging on our flanks, trying to get round to the rear and cut into the baggage train; but, being everywhere met and repulsed, they at length drew off towards the right of the city, where the 1st fusiliers, accompanied by the irregulars, had a most fatiguing trudge after them through the swamps. At one time they got so close to a troop that the irregulars were ordered to charge. The horsemen went forward, then turned, and came back at a gallop, with the enemy's cavalry hard after them, leaving their native commandant—the only man amongst them who was known to be really true to the English—dead on the ground. It was now evident the irregulars would not act against their mutinous comrades.

The time was barely past mid-day, and the sun, for the last three hours, had been glowing with frightful intensity. Many had been struck down by *coup-de-soleil* during the heat of the action; and now that the excitement of the fight had passed away, the whole force was utterly exhausted with heat and fatigue: men and officers indiscriminately threw themselves down wherever a possibility of shade was to be found, and went off into a deep sleep. About 3 P.M. the tents and baggage came up. Not many tents were pitched that day; but many a weary soldier was thankful for the considerate forethought of the commissariat officer, who had sent on camels laden with biscuit and rum, so that each man had a biscuit and a dram served out to him at once.

The activity displayed by the enemy's cavalry in the preceding action was remarkable: they moved round our force, menacing us at different points with astonishing rapidity; and their manœuvring in the field was described as perfect. These men, it may be observed, were but a short time previous, our own troopers, and were now mounted on our own regular cavalry horses; but mostly armed and equipped after their own fashion instead of ours. They had been trained by us in the discipline and art of war; and in using their knowledge against their former teachers, they proved the value of the instructions imparted to them.

The following is Brigadier-general Havelock's official report of the battle of Futtehpore, addressed to the deputy adjutant-general of the army, and dated, "Camp, Futtehpore, July 12th, 1857:"—

"Sir,—By telegrams and reports in various shapes, the commander-in-chief has been kept informed of the operations of Major Renaud, 1st Madras fusiliers, on the Grand Trunk-road, between the 1st and 11th instant, at the head of a force of 400 British and 420 native troops, with two pieces of cannon. He has everywhere pacificated the country, by punishing the ringleaders in mutiny and rebellion wherever they have fallen into his hands; and earned,

as I venture to think, the best thanks of his excellency. But on the 10th instant his position became critical.

"Cawnpore had suddenly fallen by an act of treachery unequalled in our annals, save by the fatal event beyond the Indus; and the rebel force, thus freed from occupation, had rapidly pushed down a force to the vicinity of this place, within five miles of which the major would arrive on the morning of the 12th. He would thus be exposed to the attack of 3,500 rebels with twelve guns.

"No time was to be lost; so, on the 10th, my column marched, under a frightful sun, fifteen miles to Synee; and resuming their course at eleven o'clock at night, joined Major Renaud on the road, by moonlight, and with him marched to Khaga, five miles from Futtehpore, soon after dawn, and took up a position. The heat was excessive; but there were now on a point 1,400 British bayonets and eight guns, united to a small native force. The whole is detailed in the margin.*

"Our information had been better than that of the enemy; for when Lieutenant-colonel Tytler pushed a *reconnaissance* up to the town, they evidently supposed they had only Major Renaud's gallant but small force in their front; for after firing on the lieutenant-colonel and his escort, they insolently pushed forward two guns and a force of infantry and cavalry, cannonaded our front, and threatened our flanks. I wished earnestly to give our harassed soldiers rest, and so waited until the ebullition should expend itself, making no counter-disposition beyond posting 100 Enfield riflemen (64th) in an advanced copse. But the enemy maintained his attack with the audacity which his first supposition had inspired, and my inertness fostered. It would have injured the morals of my troops to permit them thus to be bearded, so I determined at once to bring on an action.

"Futtehpore constitutes a position of no small strength. The hard, dry, Grand Trunk-road subdivides it, and is the only means of convenient access, for the plains on both sides are covered at this season by heavy lodgments of water, to the depth of two, three, and four feet. It is surrounded by garden inclosures of great strength, with high walls, and has within it many houses of good masonry. In front of the swamps are hillocks, villages, and mango groves, which the enemy already occupied in force. I estimate his number as set forth in the margin.† I made my dispositions. The guns, now eight in number, were formed on and close to the *chaussée,* in the centre, under Captain Maude (royal artillery), protected and aided by 100 Enfield riflemen of the 64th. The detachments of infantry were, at the same moment, thrown into line of quarter-distance columns, at deploying distance, and thus advanced in support, covered at discretion by Enfield skirmishers. The small force of volunteers and irregular cavalry moved forward on the flanks, on harder ground. I might say, that in ten minutes the action was decided, for in that short space of time the spirit of the enemy was utterly subdued: the rifle fire, reaching them at an unexpected distance, filled them with dismay; and when Captain Maude was enabled to push his guns through flanking swamps to point-blank range, his surprisingly accurate fire demolished their little remaining confidence. In a moment three guns were abandoned to us on the *chaussée,* and the force advanced steadily, driving the enemy before it on every point.

"Major Renaud won a hillock on the right in good style, and struggled on through the inundation. The 78th, in extension, kept up his communication with the centre; the 64th gave strength to the centre and left; on the left, the 84th and regiment of Ferozepore pressed back the enemy's right. As we moved forward, the enemy's guns continued to fall into our hands; and then, in succession, they were driven by skirmishers and columns from the garden inclosures, from a strong barricade on the road, from the town wall, into and through, out of and beyond, the town. They endeavoured to make a stand a mile in advance of it. My troops were in such a state of exhaustion, that I almost despaired of driving them further. At the same time, the mutineers of the 2nd light cavalry made

* British—3rd company, 8th battalion royal artillery, 76; 1st Madras fusiliers, 376; her majesty's 64th regiment, 435; 78th highlanders, 284; 84th regiment, 190; detachment Bengal artillery, 22; volunteer cavalry, 20: total British, 1,403. Native—Regiment of Ferozepore, 448; 13th irregular, and 3rd Oude irregular cavalry, 95; golundauze, 18: total native, 561. Grand total, 1,964.

† Mutineers—2nd, 3rd, and 7th light cavalry and irregulars, 500; native infantry and artillery, 1,500; armed insurgents 1,500: total, 3,500. Iron and brass guns, 12.

an effort to renew the combat by charging, with some success, our irregular horse, whose disposition throughout the fight was, I regret to say, worse than doubtful. But again our guns and riflemen were, with great labour, pushed to the front. Their fire soon put the enemy to final and irretrievable flight, and my force took up its present position in triumph, and parked twelve captured guns.

"I must endeavour, in this hasty despatch, to do justice to those who led the troops to this easy victory.

"First on the list I must place Major Renaud, whose exertions at the head of the advanced column I cannot sufficiently praise. His coolness and conduct in the action are equally entitled to my highest commendation. I hope that it will be in the power of his excellency the commander-in-chief, to bring speedily to the notice of his royal highness the general commanding-in-chief, the courage and skill of Captain Maude, royal artillery. I have seen some artillery fights in my time, but never beheld guns better served, or practice more effective than that of my battery under this officer.

"Colonel Hamilton led his highlanders well, and they followed him full of spirit and devotion. I have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct in this combat of Major Stirling, at the head of the 64th; of Lieutenant Ayrton, in command of the 84th detachment; of Captain Brasyer, regiment of Ferozepore; of Captain Barrow, leading the volunteer cavalry; and Lieutenant Palliser, at the head of the irregular horse.

"I have next to speak of the staff. Captain Beatson, deputy assistant-adjutant-general, has given me entire satisfaction in the performance of his ordinary duties, and I was much gratified by his boldness and activity in the fight. Lieutenant-colonel Tytler is indefatigable, and most intelligent in a sphere of duty entirely new to him. Captain M'Bean's commissariat arrangements, chiefly with the advanced column, have hitherto been every way successful.

"My orders were conveyed in the field boldly, actively, and intelligently, by my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Havelock, 10th foot, and the following officers:—Lieutenant Moreland, 1st fusiliers; Lieutenant Moorsom, her majesty's 52nd light infantry; Captain Sheehy, her majesty's 81st regiment; Captain Russell, engineers; and Captain M'Bean.

"I inclose the list of casualties; the lightest, I suppose, that ever accompanied the announcement of such a success. Twelve British soldiers were struck down by the sun, and never rose again. But our fight was fought neither with musket nor bayonet and sabre, but with Enfield rifles and cannon; so we took no men. The enemy's fire scarcely reached us; ours, for four hours, allowed him no repose.

"A return of captured ordnance also accompanies this report.—I have, &c.,

"H. HAVELOCK."

This was the first struggle decided at Futtehpore, on Sunday, the 12th of July. On the following morning the general recognised the gallant services of the troops under his command in the subjoined address:—

"*Morning Order.*—July 13th, 1857.—Brigadier-general Havelock, C.B., thanks his soldiers for their arduous exertions yesterday, which produced, in four hours, the strange result of a whole army driven from a strong position, eleven guns captured, and their whole force scattered to the winds, *without the loss of a single British soldier!* To what is this astonishing effect to be attributed? To the fire of the British artillery, exceeding in rapidity and precision all that the brigadier-general has ever witnessed in his not short career; to the power of the Enfield rifle in British hands; to British pluck—that good quality which has survived the revolution of the hour; and to the blessing of Almighty God in a most righteous cause—the cause of justice, humanity, truth, and good government in India."

The same day, Brigadier-general Havelock telegraphed to the governor-general as follows:—

"I have to acquaint your lordship that I have this morning attacked and totally defeated the insurgents, capturing eleven guns, and scattering their forces in utter confusion in the direction of Cawnpore. By two harassing marches I joined Major Renaud's advanced column three hours before daylight, and encamped about eight o'clock, four miles from Futtehpore, where, pitching our tents, the enemy advanced out of Futtehpore, and opened fire upon a *reconnaissance* under Colonel Tytler. I had a wish to defer the fight until to-morrow; but, thus assailed, was compelled to accept the challenge. I marched with eight guns in the centre under Captain Maude, R.A., forming the whole of the infantry in quarter-dis-

tance column, in support. Captain Maude's fire electrified the enemy, who abandoned gun after gun, and were then driven by our skirmishers and column through garden, inclosures, and the streets of Futtehpore, in complete confusion. My loss is merely nominal; not a single European touched. My column had marched twenty-four miles up to the ground I write from; Major Renaud's nineteen miles. The conduct of the troops in sustaining the fatigue of so long a march, and enduring the heat of a frightful sun, is beyond praise. The enemy's strength is said to have been two regiments of cavalry and three of infantry, and eleven guns."

The subjoined details are extracted from a letter of an officer who shared in the toils and triumph of the 12th of July; in the afternoon of which day he wrote thus:—

"We are just come from battle; have gained a complete victory, taken eleven guns (all they had), and all their baggage. It is an utter rout: and now I'll tell you all about it. We started at twelve at night, and came on, eighteen miles, to Belindah, joining Renaud's force on the road. We got in about half-past six, and the orders were to remain in order till we should ascertain the news from a reconnoitring party sent two miles on. Well, I for one thought it 'bosh,' and we generally had the idea that the enemy would never come near us. So I strolled over as usual to the fusiliers, under a tree, to get tea and a pipe. A little while after, one said, 'Here's our party returning: why, they haven't been two miles!' I casually took out my glass to look, and then, by Jove! beheld a large body of cavalry coming down, about 1,500 yards off. The alarm sounded, the men were in their places instantly, and the order was for artillery to move on and open. So we did. I'm bound to say that the first practice was not very good, but it emptied some saddles, and made them keep at a respectful distance. Then they spread, trying to outflank us, but the skirmishers and the Enfields went out and soon stopped that manœuvre. Meanwhile the artillery were pushing on to the front to engage at closer quarters—they in centre, infantry on either flank. And now their guns opened on us, and the round shot came hopping into the battery; but we deuced soon settled the first three guns and took them; and so we went on and on, blazing into them, following up for several miles into Futtehpore. I was astonished at the way the bullocks worked. Most of our advance was through rice-swamps, and just off an eighteen mile march too; it was wonderful. As we went on, we found gun after gun abandoned. At the entrance of Futtehpore, where if they had chosen to stand, the ground was such that we must have had an awful fight, there was a barricade of hackeries across the road, and we thought we were in for it; but this turned out to be their baggage mixed up in one jam, and a couple of six-pounders in complete order (never been fired), caught in the midst. There was lots of plunder here, and amongst it many evidences, alas! of the sack of Cawnpore—ladies' dresses, men's overcoats, saddles, pictures, &c. Two tumbrils of treasure were taken; one plundered by the men, the other caught and brought in by the Sikhs. Our last guns were fired at the retreating enemy on the Cawnpore side of Futtehpore. I cannot omit to mention one first-rate shot by the artillery. We aimed at and killed the elephant on which the Syed was mounted; drilled him clean through with a round shot. It is supposed that the force opposed to us was two regiments of cavalry, three of infantry, and eleven guns. We are all delighted at having struck the first blow, and got on so much nearer to Cawnpore. We believe they were coming down on Renaud's force, and were rather sold by our sudden appearance. The two forced marches did it. We halt tomorrow to organise another battery out of the captured guns, for all the 1st Madras fusiliers are artillerymen. This is a splendid regiment. How they work! Several men of the force died to-day of *coup-de-soleil*."

In another account of the battle of the 12th of July, the writer, also an officer of the European force, says—"The enemy were in position, with their guns admirably placed to do execution upon our troops should they come within their range. General Havelock, however, was not to be tempted to proceed so far, and drew up his men at a convenient distance. The 64th and 78th levelled their rifles; and, as the clear sharp volley rang through the air, the mutinous host were taught by a terrible practical demonstration the value of the cartridge they had so much affected to despise. All their musketry volleys availed nought against the deadly tubes of our 78th and 64th. The balls that reached our men fell amongst them spent and harmless as autumn-leaves. In vain they tried to bring their artillery to bear

upon us. The Enfield rifles swept away the gunners like chaff. In the meantime our artillery moving upwards, mowed the scoundrels down; and in four hours the whole rebel host was scattered to the winds."

On Monday, July 13th, the force halted upon the field of its triumph at Futtehpore, to secure and bring in the guns taken from the rebels, and destroy such munitions of war as they had abandoned in their flight, and which our troops had no means of carrying on without unnecessarily encumbering themselves. In the course of the day, some gun-bullocks, belonging to government, which had been "looted" by the insurgents during their early occupation of Cawnpore, were brought into camp, and restored by the villagers, who were also active in searching for stragglers of the rebel force that remained lurking about the town and adjacent villages. Such of them as happened to be sepoys, were hung without ceremony or delay.

On Tuesday, the 14th, the troops resumed their march to Cawnpore. As they moved forward, evidence of the precipitancy of the flight of the rebel army met them on every side. Chests of cartridges, shot, clothing, tents, even the arms and accoutrements of some of the men, were strewed along the road, and over the broken ground. Among the spoil thus scattered over their route, the most useful and acceptable to the captors was a store of about forty barrels of English porter, abandoned by the rebels in their flight. The advance of the troops on this day was not obstructed in any way; and they encamped for the night at Kulleanpore, about twenty-two miles from their ultimate destination. From this place the brigadier telegraphed as follows to the commander-in-chief:—

"Camp Kulleanpore, July 14th, 1857.—Here I have arrived, and could be in Cawnpore on the 16th instant; but as it is rumoured that the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee is intrenched, and that 400 have been sent for its defence, it is not probable that I can arrive so soon. If that stream is not defended, I promise to march on the 16th to within five miles of Cawnpore, and attack it the next day. We have taken every gun from the rebels at Futtehpore, twelve in number. This has enabled me to equip and take into the field nine excellent guns, instead of six lighter, and with the facility of also bringing into action two light 6-pounders. General Neill is urgent with me to send back a detachment of invalid artillery. I cannot do this without crippling my artillery force, which Captain Maude so ably commands. I have with me eleven light guns, and only seventy-two British artillerymen, including twenty-four invalids. I shall not lose a moment in advancing on Lucknow, if successful at Cawnpore."

The men of the Oude irregular cavalry—who had grossly misconducted themselves during the action of the 12th, by refusing to obey the orders of their officers when commanded to charge the rebel troops—again, on the 14th, exhibited a refractory disposition totally incompatible with the discipline of an army; and it was therefore determined to render them incapable of further immediate mischief by dismounting and disarming them. An opportunity was taken the same night to effect this operation, which the troopers had no alternative but to submit to, or be treated at once as mutineers. The loss of their services at such a juncture would have been regretted under other circumstances; but their flagrant insubordination in the face of the enemy, and their evident inclination to take part with the mutineers on the first possible occasion that might offer, rendered it imprudent to retain them as auxiliaries in the English camp. The decision of the brigadier in carrying out this step was highly gratifying to the European soldiers, who were well pleased to be relieved from association with a body of men that had individually become objects of distrust, and, collectively, were now looked upon with contempt and anger.

A gentleman in the civil service of the Company, present as a volunteer with the troops during the advance, writes thus from the camp, dated "Kulleanpore, ninety-one miles from Allahabad, July 15th:"—

"———, I would have written to you before to tell you of our doings at Futtehpore on Sunday last, the 13th instant, but we had so hard a day's work that I could not sit down to scribble, and yesterday my time was so much taken up by annexing the goods and chattels of departed niggers, that I postponed my letter till to-day. Our camp is such a large one, and so difficult to move, that, although we started at three o'clock this morning, we only got to our encamping-ground at half-past two. By 'we' I mean our carts, for the line of march extends over three miles of road, and

private conveyances always come on to the road in the rear of the others. I consequently was forced to take shelter under a broken-down old buggy, and sit in the rain on the look-out for my carts. It is now half-past five o'clock, and we have just finished breakfast, so I have but little time to write. I must commence with a short account of the 'Battle of Futtehpore.' Well, it was on a Sunday morning, the memorable 13th of July, 1857, when the British column, composed of &c., &c., &c., and so on.* But, to tell you my own tale: you see we fell in with Havelock's force, and marched on to Belindah, nineteen miles from our ground, and twenty-four from the general's camp. We arrived there at a quarter to ten o'clock, or thereabouts, and fell out, taking up our position on both sides of the road, about 1,000 yards this side of Belindah, on a fine open plain, stretching to Futtehpore, about three miles off. We had got our tents up, when Colonel Tytler, who had ridden up to Futtehpore to reconnoitre, galloped back, saying that the rebels were on the road, moving down to us. Immediately the alarm was sounded, and the troops all fell out so quietly and steadily, it was quite charming to see them. The camp was beautifully laid out, the guns in the centre of the road, and the troops on both sides; so they had only to move from their tents to come to the front. Out they came, eager for the fun, like so many bulldogs, and as jolly as possible, although just off a tiring march. Out we went; and a crowd of niggers along the road in the distance, and a boom-boom (you know how the big guns speak), told us plainly that they were playing at bowls against our advanced guard (cavalry.) On they crept, and the cavalry came in; and we saw in the distance, closing in (in a semicircle), a vast body of cavalry. On the beggars came, and on we went, our guns taking up a nice position on the road and on the sides.

"About two or three feeble and insane attempts were made by the rebels to pitch their shot into us, but somehow or other the guns wouldn't fire straight, and a puff and a bang from one of ours sent a ball flying into their first gun, and we could see the round shot ploughing them up, and the grape falling on all sides, and shells bursting over their heads. It was most refreshing. They could not stand it. Those behind cried 'on!' while those in front cried 'back!' and presently the whole mass was seen to move off, leaving, to our delight, a thundering big gun. We moved on, on, and on. Not another shot was fired by them, while our shot went rolling in among them, just as if the old Allahabad eleven were playing the Futtehpore lot. On, on, and more guns appeared. The cavalry were dispersed by a few shot and shell, and we presently found ourselves before the city. Guns, dead bullocks, defunct niggers, and broken tumbrils lined the road; and among the many unfortunates was to be seen a disembowelled old elephant, whose fate it had been to carry the general into the field—an old rascally subahdar of the 2nd cavalry, who had been created a general by Nana Sahib. A wag of an artillery sergeant had taken a pop at him, and it went in under the poor beast's tail and out at his chest, pitching the Subahdar Sahib Bahadoor on his nose. Well, we cavalry (for I had joined them) went on the right of the city, supporting the fusiliers; on the left a party of the other regiment, and some in the centre, to go up the city with the guns. On we went steadily. Here the rebels made a slight stand, and, sneaking about in the gardens and houses, poured volleys into us; but their fire was so wild and miserable, that the balls merely whistled over our heads. Well, we were told to move on ahead and watch the enemy, and we did so, and found them scuttling off in all directions, and suddenly came on a party of about thirty of the 2nd cavalry. On seeing the enemy, Palliser called the men to charge, and dashed on; but the scoundrels scarcely altered their speed, and met the enemy at the same pace that they came down towards us. Their design was evident; they came waving their swords to our men, and riding round our party, making signs to them to come over to their side. We could not dash out upon them, as we were only four to their thirty; and when our men hung back, a dash out would only have ended in our being cut-up. One or two came in at us, and one or two blows were exchanged. Palliser was unseated by his horse swerving suddenly, and then the row commenced. The 2nd cavalry men tried to get at him, and his native officers closed round him to save him, and they certainly fought like good men and true—the few of them. I got a couple of slaps at them with my Colt, while they were trying to get in at Palliser;

* For style, &c., *vide* the *Wellington Despatches.*

but Gayer, the doctor, was the only one who got a sword-cut at them. He gave a scoundrel a very neat wipe on the shoulder in return for a cut at his arm, which only touched the coat. While this was going on, the rear men turned tail and left us, galloping back as hard as their horses could go; and, the whole body of the cavalry appearing from behind some trees, we were forced to return, at a deuced good pace too. I never rode so hard in my life. It was a regular race for our necks, for the whole of the fellows were behind our small party, thirsting for our blood. I had a couple of fellows just behind me, but my old horse managed to carry me along. I write this with shame and grief, but it was no fault of Palliser's or ours. If the rascals had not left us so shamefully we could have ridden over the thirty men, and have returned steadily before the rest of the cavalry came up. They had an immense number of regulars and irregulars. For the moment I fully believed that our men were about to join the 2nd cavalry, and leave us to their mercy; you may imagine how jolly I felt. The poor rissaldar of Hardinge's regiment, Nujeeb Khan, a tall fine fellow, with a black beard, after saving Palliser, fell with his horse on crossing a ditch we had to pass, and was cruelly cut up. Seven of our men were killed, while they say they polished off five of the regulars; but I believe this to be wrong, for I only saw one body, that of an havildar of the 2nd cavalry. The wretched creature's bridle broke when charging down, and his horse took him slap into the middle of our fellows. Our men were not disbanded, as they had not mutinied; but it was determined to use them as baggage guards only, &c. The necessity for doing so was afterwards proved, as I shall relate in the course of my tale. Well, the stand made in the gardens was very soon over, and the whole force scuttled off, leaving carts containing all sorts of baggage, and great was the plunder thereof. Our boys had been twenty-four miles, so we could go no further, and we encamped this side of the city. We were in our tents about two o'clock, and, after having a little grub, I sallied out to see what was to be had. A major-general's white saddle-cloth, edged with gold lace, an English leathern vallise, two good durries, a Cashmere chola, a pistol, a lot of puggry cloth, some horse traps, and a pollparrot, proved a valuable addition to my stock of property. The town was sacked by the Europeans, Sykeses (as the soldiers call the Sikhs), and camp-followers, and some of the principal houses blown up, and thatched houses burnt. We came on yesterday without anything happening, except that some donkey in the volunteer cavalry swore he saw a body of men in a village, and shot and shell were pitched into the place as quick as the guns could fire. It was found afterwards that the place was empty, and so much good ammunition was thrown away for nothing. Well, those rascally irregulars in the rear with the baggage, hearing the guns, actually attempted to turn it back. They were sharply looked after by the highlanders, and were disbanded last night. We heard this morning that the rebels were making a stand at Aong, about four miles on the Futtehpore side of the big bridge; and we also heard that they were breaking the bridge down."

Another writer from the camp says—"On Tuesday we marched eighteen miles to Kulleanpore, but did not meet with the enemy. On Wednesday we marched about five miles, and found the rebels in a strong position, with six guns. We soon silenced their guns, and advanced against them; and after about two hours' sharp firing, we thoroughly routed them, and they retreated to a bridge about three miles off, where they had another very strong position, with six guns. Our Enfields did splendid work, and we soon silenced their battery. I was in front with the skirmishing party all day. We rushed up to their battery and took their bridge and guns, when they all fled before us like so many sheep: they really are arrant cowards. Thus ended our day's work. Poor Major Renaud, who commanded our detachment, was wounded early in the morning in the leg; he is now better, but I fear his leg will be obliged to be amputated; he is a very gallant officer. I was with him at the time, but he would not allow me to remain, but said 'Go on with your men.'"

By dawn of the morning of Wednesday, July the 15th, the united force under Brigadier-general Havelock recommenced the march, with the knowledge that the enemy had again collected in force, and had thrown up intrenchments a short distance from Kulleanpore. "After proceeding about five miles," says one of the survivors of the gallant band, "we at length came in sight of the rebels in position at a village

called Oong. Directly we came within range of their guns, they opened fire. The artillery and skirmishers on our side moved out to the front as before, with the main body of troops following. The mutineers came out from the village and garden inclosures towards us in perfect skirmishing order, and both sides were soon hotly engaged. After a smart skirmish our guns silenced the enemy's artillery, and our men began to gain ground, driving the mutineers back upon the village. At this juncture their cavalry came out from behind the inclosures, and moved forward through the trees, menacing our right, and pressing down unpleasantly close; but the guns were immediately turned on them; and it was only after some well-thrown shrapnels had emptied a score or more of saddles, that they could be made to keep their distance. Failing in this attempt, they rode away to our rear, and, had it not been for the cool gallantry of the hospital sergeant of the 78th, would have cut up our baggage; but he, collecting all the invalids and stragglers in the rear, formed a small rallying square of about a hundred men, and received them with such a fire of musketry, that they rode off discomfited, leaving many dead behind them.

"Meantime the fight went on through the village. The rebels fought fiercely, even after their guns were taken, and it was some little time before our men could clear them out: but this was at length effected; the artillery passed through, and the whole force halted, to breathe and drink water, on the other side.

"But our work was only half done as yet; there was another intrenchment, with two heavy guns, to be taken. They were placed in a position which swept the road for a mile just on the other side of the Pandoo Nuddee, a large, difficult stream, spanned by a bridge of three arches, which, if broken down—and we knew it was mined—would most seriously have checked our progress. Nothing could save it but pressing the enemy hard; so on we went again. The heat was, as usual, frightful; but the men bore up, having the excitement of battle on them. After proceeding another two miles—just as the head of the column wound out from amongst the mango groves, at a turn where the road ran straight across the plain, two puffs of white smoke burst from a low ridge in our front, followed by the reports of two heavy guns, and a couple of 24-lb. shot, beautifully thrown, crashed right in to us, wounding men and gun-bullocks. Another and another followed in rapid succession: the fire was heavy and most accurate.

"Our light field-pieces were no match for the enemy at this game of long bullets; so the order was given for the artillery to advance and engage when within practicable range. The guns went steadily down the road, under a continuous fire of round shot, varied as we drew nearer by shrapnel, till a fair range was gained—then the guns unlimbered and opened fire. The effect was almost marvellous. Our heavy opponents ceased firing almost immediately. We could not understand this at the time; but discovered afterwards, when we went up to the intrenchment, that our shrapnel bullets had smashed their sponge staffs almost at the first fire, so that they could no longer load their guns. Their skirmishers were meantime giving way before ours; and our guns were now turned on their cavalry, who were massed in front. The Enfield riflemen, too, were creeping forward; and soon the whole rebel force turned right about, and went off. It was just as well we did press forward that day; for, as we crossed the bridge, we found that they had tried to blow it up, but failed for want of time; the explosion had only thrown down the parapet walls, leaving the arch sound.

"It was universally remarked how much closer and fiercer the mutineers fought that day. If they had only been under a competent leader, it would have been a much more serious affair; for the inferior details of their movements—such as depend upon the mechanical training of the soldiers—were perfect; but the master-mind was wanting. Hence the sepoys always came into action very well, but, as the battle went on, got bothered, and made a mess of it. Our want of cavalry in these actions was most severely felt; a couple of squadrons, even, would have been of the most incalculable use.

"The tired troops camped down, that day, on the spot where our last gun was fired, and got what rest they could, having taken five guns. Late that night a rumour spread through the camp, that a still heavier fight awaited us on the morrow; and during the next morning's march this intelligence was confirmed. The whole of the mutineer regiments at Cawnpore—about

4,000 infantry and 500 horse—had come down with the Bithoor rajah (otherwise called the Nana Sahib) to meet us, and had taken up a position at the fork of the Grand Trunk-road, about four miles from Cawnpore, where one road branches off into cantonments, and the other continues straight on to Delhi. Here they had strongly intrenched themselves, with heavy guns placed so as to command the road, and sweep it with a flanking fire."

At the close of this day's arduous work, the brigadier-general transmitted the following report to the commander-in-chief:—

"Camp, Pandoo Nuddee, July 15th.

"The 18th and 3rd Oude irregular cavalry are no longer to be trusted: in addition to their misbehaviour before the enemy on the 12th, they yesterday attempted to drive away my baggage. I dismounted and disarmed them last night, but have informed them, that every deserter will be punished with death. I have appointed their horses for public purposes.

"My troops were twice engaged this morning, and captured four more guns, with trifling loss. A strong advanced guard, under Colonel Tytler, drove the enemy out of all his intrenched positions in front of the village of Aong, after a resistance of two hours and a-half, during which the mutinous cavalry, in considerable force, made frequent attacks against my baggage, which compelled me to use every available detachment and gun against them. At noon we attacked their intrenchment at the bridge over the stream. The resistance here was short but spirited, and the two guns taken were of large calibre. Major Renaud is severely wounded. The Madras fusiliers particularly distinguished themselves."

The following is the official despatch of the battle of Pandoo Nuddee, as forwarded to the deputy adjutant-general of the army:—

"Camp, Pandoo Nuddee, July 15th.

"Sir,—I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that the troops under my command have been twice successfully engaged with the enemy to-day, and have captured four guns.

"Whilst prosecuting my march towards Cawnpore, it became a matter of deep interest to me to learn whether the fine bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee had been destroyed or not. The stream is not, at this season, fordable; and the delay in crossing by other means, or at any other point, would have been most damaging to the objects of the expedition.

"Intelligence meanwhile came in, to the effect, that the village of Aong was strongly occupied by the enemy; that he was intrenched across the road, and had two horse artillery guns in position. I therefore reinforced the advanced guard, under Lieutenant-colonel Tytler, by attaching to him, in addition to the small body of volunteer cavalry, six guns of Captain Maude's battery, and the detachment of her majesty's 64th regiment.

"The enemy's intrenchments were not formidable; but the country being thickly wooded, he was enabled to maintain himself for some time against our fire, during which interval large bodies of cavalry advanced on both flanks, with the intention of capturing our baggage. These attacks were very persevering; and, to defeat them (as I had only twenty horse), I was compelled to protect the flanks with the infantry in second line, and by artillery fire. It is gratifying to have to report, that the enemy was unable to capture a single baggage animal, or follower. The last attempt was defeated by the baggage guards, whose fire was very effective.

"Soon, however, the lieutenant-colonel overcame all resistance, drove the enemy before him, and captured his cannon. The road was strewed for miles with abandoned tents, ammunition, and other materials of war. He reports to me, in high terms of commendation, the conduct of the troops immediately under his command; of Captain Maude, commanding the battery; and of Lieutenant Havelock, 10th foot, my aide-de-camp; and Lieutenant Moorsom, 52nd light infantry, whom I had placed at his disposal. The troops were halted for refreshment and short repose, when authentic information was received, that the bridge on the Pandoo stream was not destroyed, but defended by intrenchments, and two guns of garrison calibre. Disposition had to be made to force the passage of the stream. Fortunately, the bridge was at a salient bend of the river in our direction. Captain Maude at once suggested to me his desire to envelop it with his artillery fire, by placing three guns on the road, and three on either flank. The whole of the Madras fusiliers were extended as Enfield riflemen, as being the most practised workmen in the force. They lined

the banks of the stream, and kept up a biting fire.

"The enemy opened an effective cannonade upon our column, as they advanced along the road. They therefore deployed, and advanced with great steadiness in parade order in support of the guns of the riflemen. Captain Maude's bullets soon produced an evident effect, and then the right wing of the fusiliers, suddenly closing, threw themselves with rare gallantry upon the bridge, carried it, and captured both guns. These two affairs cost me twenty-five killed and wounded, as shown in the accompanying return. Amongst the latter, I regret to have to particularise Major Renaud, 1st Madras fusiliers, to whose gallantry and intelligence I have been under great obligations. His left thigh was broken by a musket-ball in the skirmish at Aong; but I hope, from the fortitude with which he endures his suffering, a favourable result.

"I have, &c.—H. Havelock,
"Brigadier-general, commanding Allahabad Movable Column."

The total casualties reported in the engagements of this day, amounted to one killed and twenty-three wounded.

It would appear, from the determined obstinacy with which the rebel troops disputed the road to Cawnpore, that some increase to his force was deemed requisite by General Havelock, and that he had called upon the officer commanding at Allahabad for a reinforcement. Thus, on the 16th, Brigadier-general Neill reported to the commander-in-chief, that he had, on the previous day, received a most pressing requisition from General Havelock, for 300 Europeans and some guns, to be sent forward to occupy Cawnpore with all dispatch; and he had started 227 of the 84th regiment in bullock vans, with orders to march twenty-five miles a-night, and to reach in five days. General Neill then says—"I start, this afternoon, by dâk, and overtake the 84th, and move up with them; will go on before them if I can, and shall lose no time. I have handed over my command to Captain T. R. Drummond Hay, 78th highlanders, until Colonel O'Brien arrives; and have given instructions which embrace everything."—It is necessary to notice this communication, that the connection of Brigadier-general Neill with subsequent events at Cawnpore may be duly explained.

On the morning of the 16th, the English troops were encamped at a distance of twenty-two miles from the city; and it was determined, by their gallant leader, that the day should not pass before the impediments in the way of its restoration were removed. Accordingly, the tents were struck by daybreak, and the advance sounded. With light hearts, but tired feet, the noble band of avengers marched onward, until sufficient ground had been covered to admit of a brief halt. The troops bivouacked about fourteen miles from their starting-place, and cooked their food; and precisely at 1 P.M. they were again in motion, refreshed by their meal, and burning with impatience to face the traitorous hordes that had hitherto fled before them. As the exact position of the enemy's guns was well known, through spies, it was resolved to make a detour, that they might be taken in flank; and this operation was successfully effected by the extraordinary endurance of the troops. The writer of some details of this movement, to whom reference has already been made, says—"This I believe to have been one of the most severe marches ever made in India. In the full mid-day heat of the worst season of the year, did our troops start, each man fully armed and accoutred, with his sixty rounds of ball ammunition on him. The sun struck down with frightful force. At every step a man reeled out of the ranks, and threw himself fainting by the side of the road; the calls for water were incessant all along the line. At length came the point for the flank movement, and the columns turned off into the fields. It had not proceeded half a mile before the enemy caught sight of us, and opened a fierce, well-directed fire from their heavy guns. Through this storm of round shot and shrapnel the troops quietly proceeded, till the turning point of the flank march was gained; and then, forming up in line, with artillery in the intervals, advanced steadily down upon the enemy's position. The artillery first moved forward and engaged the heavy guns (which were pelting into us all this time), and the remainder of the troops, with the exception of the skirmishers, who were hotly engaged on our flanks, laid down.

"After a few rounds at different ranges, it was found that the enemy's guns in the village were so well sheltered by walls and houses, that our artillery could not silence them. They kept up as hot a fire as ever;

and their infantry, too, from behind their cover, kept up a constant fire. Hereupon, the 78th were ordered to advance and take the village. The highlanders rose, fired one rolling volley as they advanced, and then moved forward with sloped arms and measured tread, like a wall—the rear rank locked-up as if on parade—until within a hundred yards or so of the village, when the word was given to charge. Then they all burst forward like an eager pack of hounds rushing in to the kill, and in an instant they were over the mound and into the village. There was not a shot fired or a shout uttered; for the men were very fierce, and the slaughter was proportionate. 'I've just got three of 'em out of one house, sir,' said a 78th man, with a grin, to me, as I met him at a turn of the village.

"The English force was now fairly within the enemy's lines, and they went forward, taking gun after gun, and driving everything before them; but, meantime, the enemy's cavalry and a portion of their infantry had moved round, and part of our artillery had to turn about and hold them in check. At one time, indeed, our small handful of troops was completely surrounded. The mutineers fought fiercely and well; and if there had only been a head to guide them, we must have fought hard to save even our bare lives; but unity of purpose prevailed over multitudes. One by one their positions were carried; and the final advance of the 64th—when they charged and took a heavy gun that had up to that time been playing on our troops with murderous effect—finally settled the business. After that there was no more regular opposition; and just as night set in, the English force formed up and bivouacked on the plain just beyond the grand parade-ground of Cawnpore.

"This was a hard fight. So many fell out on the road, that there cannot have been more than 1,000 men of all sorts in action on our side, opposed to at least 5,000 of the enemy. In the former actions our artillery and skirmishers did most of the work; but here the brunt of the battle fell on the infantry. The Sikhs are reported to have fought like devils. The fact of some of their brethren's throats having been cut by the Bengal sepoys had come to their knowledge, and rendered them even more savage than the English soldiery—if that were possible—against the mutineers. Here, more than ever, was our want of cavalry felt; for the enemy's horse got off comparatively scathless, besides creeping round to our rear, and cutting up our wounded men. They made a dash at a small handful of our skirmishers—about a dozen of the fusiliers, who, with their officer, Seton, had got separated from the rest. Seton called his men round him, and formed a square. The cavalry dashed at them, swerved off from a cool, steady fire, every bullet of which brought down a man, and the little party rejoined the regiment unhurt. The only guns the enemy carried away were two horse artillery guns, which we could not catch; the remainder, to the number of eight, all heavy guns, remained with us."

Among the extraordinary incidents of this eventful day, an act of individual bravery and cool determination, on the part of a wounded soldier of the 64th regiment, named Patrick Cavanagh, attracted the attention of the general, and was recognised by the hearty cheers of his fellow-soldiers. Early in the fight, Cavanagh had his leg shattered by a round shot, and as he lay disabled on the ground, with no one at hand to remove or assist him, the rebel horsemen came sweeping round to cut him up, for they fancied the "Feringhee" was defenceless. Lying on his back, the brave fellow, undaunted either by his position or their numbers, shot the first that approached: as he fell from his saddle his companions drew back. In the momentary interval, Cavanagh had again loaded, and shot down a second trooper. They then came on; but he had again prepared; and as they advanced, a third fell from his horse. This rifle-practice was not anticipated or admired by the valiant sowars, who had rushed in a body to cut up and mutilate a wounded man; and they accordingly wheeled round, and left the poor fellow to be removed by his admiring comrades among the first gathered off that gory field. The man's leg was amputated on the following morning; but he died from exhaustion.

Soon after daybreak on Friday, July 17th, while the troops were waiting for the baggage to come up, and pondering with eager anticipation upon the probable events of the next few hours, their attention was all at once fixed in the direction of the city by a huge, dense, white pillar of smoke, slowly rising in the air; and, as it unfolded volume upon volume, still mounting upward towards the sky—presently a report

and concussion of the air, as if a battery of huge mortars had exploded all at once, announced the destruction of some important building within the city. A few hours after, it was ascertained that the discomfited rebel leader had blown up the grand magazine and arsenal, and had then ignominiously sought to ensure his personal safety by flight from the scene of his atrocities.

An officer of the 64th regiment, relating the incidents of this day, says—"On Thursday we marched against the enemy (about 6,000 strong), who were in position about five miles from Cawnpore, and this was the hardest day's work we ever had. They had six or eight guns, in two separate batteries. We advanced straight against them; and they poured grape and round shot into us like so many hailstones; yet our loss was not very great. We laid down, and then advanced against their first battery, which was taken in fine style. I went off with a small party (about forty men) to the right flank, where the cavalry were threatening us, and some of their infantry had a strong position. We kept them at a distance with our rifles; and once, when some of the cavalry (about 500) came down upon us, we formed square, and they did not dare come near us. This elicited great applause from the general and everybody. My party then joined the main column, and we now advanced against the other battery. When we came within range, down poured the round shot and grape. We were ordered to lie down; but the scoundrels had got their distance so well, that several were wounded. Six men of her majesty's 64th regiment were killed; and poor Captain Currie, of the 84th, severely wounded by a round shot. We had several men wounded. I had a bullet on my *topie* (felt hat), which providentially glanced off; and Captain Raikes had a portion of his sword-hilt carried away. Well, fancy! when they saw us down again, they thought we were afraid to fight, so they sounded the advance, and then the double. The general (Havelock) now gave his order—'Rise up; advance!' The whole line gave a cheer—such a cheer! it must have made the villains tremble from head to foot—and advanced in line against their battery, under a heavy cross-fire, which they kept up very well, but did not do much damage, as they fired too high. They evacuated their battery, and fled in every direction. We fired into them till they were out of range, and then rushed up the hill, and found, to our joy, Cawnpore about half a mile in front.

"We bivouacked on the rising ground for the night. You should have heard the cheer we gave as our gallant commander (General Havelock) rode down the lines; it was, indeed, a fine sight. He, on every occasion, praises our men, and is going to make a special report of us to the commander-in-chief."

With such feelings existing between a general and the troops under his command, a successful issue to whatever enterprise they may be mutually engaged in becomes almost an affair of certainty; and it is evident that Brigadier-general Havelock had, in an eminent degree, the power as well as the disposition not only to acquire the regards of those he commanded, but also to retain and reciprocate them.

An officer of the fusiliers says, in a letter from Cawnpore of the 17th of July—"This force, in eight days, has marched 126 miles, fought four actions, and taken twenty-four guns, light and heavy; and that, too, in the month of July in India. "We marched on the 16th, and then learned that the enemy had come out from Cawnpore to make their last stand at the place where the Grand Trunk-road forks to Cawnpore and Delhi; that they had there intrenched themselves in a very strong position, with heavy guns in front and flank, to sweep the road; and that all the force, upwards of 4,000 men, had turned out to make their last stand. So it was determined to try and turn their flank. Accordingly we struck off the road at an angle, and then turned down towards them again. We bivouacked under the trees, and started at half-past 1 P.M. The heat was fearful. Many men dropped from the effects of the sun. At last, the enemy caught sight, and opened a very heavy and well-directed fire on us, which we had to pass till we got to the turning point. Then we moved down in line upon them, and opened fire on their guns, which were in a very strong position in a village. We silenced two with our artillery; but all we could do we couldn't get at the third heavy gun, it was so well masked. The 78th were ordered to charge and take the gun. I never saw anything so fine. The enemy were soon in retreat; for we had turned their position; but the fight was still hard; for their cavalry came quickly down upon our rear, and the guns had to be halted and opened

on them. After that we got so far forward towards Cawnpore, that, without knowing it, one of their heavy guns in position was passed, and they managed to slue it round and open fire on our rear. So we had to turn, and go back and take it. This was done by the 64th. In fact, it was, in point of heavy fire and fatigue, a very hard fight; but the end was, that we took eight guns in all, and utterly routed the enemy, who evacuated Cawnpore during the night, and blew up the arsenal and magazine. We bivouacked on the field, with little bed and supper, and marched into Cawnpore this morning, where we hold a position—the barracks. All the force is knocked-up, and must rest a day.

"Alas, alas! all the women and children were murdered by these devils yesterday, when they found the day going against them."

Another writer, after describing the advance from Kulleanpore, and subsequent engagements, says—"The defeat the Cawnpore rebels sustained in four engagements has disheartened them greatly, and there is no doubt the work our brave boys have before them will be accomplished without much trouble. They cannot stand a hand-to-hand fight with Europeans; and the 'Hurrah' which precedes the charge strikes as much terror into their cowardly hearts as a round of grape. You know that the day was won, in our last engagement, by a gallant charge made by our fellows upon the enemy late in the evening, when we had been fighting for three hours, after marching nearly the whole day under a sun that knocked the boys down by the dozen. Poor fellows! We had cartloads of them sick from sore feet and sun-strokes. We had beaten them back from battery to battery. You know the way. Our big guns pounded them, and we ran in with a cheer, and took each battery with the bayonet. The sun was down, and we advanced in front of the only battery they had left, drawn up on the Grand Trunk-road. The fire was fearful. The whole of the force was assembled there. We lay down in the field while the round shot and grape literally tore the ranks up. The guns should have been up; but the bullocks were too fagged and tired to drag them over the heavy ground. The old general at last saw it was too much. The devils were pelting at us with their bands playing. I saw and heard them distinctly: presently we heard the general shout, 'Get up, my lads, and take those guns.' Up we got with a cheer—it was more like a howl—and charged; gave them a volley at eighty yards, and ran in. It was too much. The valiant 11,000 fled before us, and in a few moments the guns were ours, and Cawnpore was gained.

"We lay out there all night, after collecting the wounded—hungry, thirsty, and cold, with nothing but dirty ditch-water to drink; but it was like nectar! Our baggage had been left behind, four miles, and we saw nothing of it until nine o'clock next morning, when we marched into Cawnpore. It was hard work for all; but the poor sick and wounded, how they must have suffered! Poor Captain Currie, of her majesty's 84th, with which I remained during the last fight, was knocked down by a round shot from the big gun, a 24-pounder, which we took at the close of the day. Nearly the whole of his back was carried away, poor fellow! and yet he lingered for three days. I attended him and gave him water on the field that day, and saw his wound. I never saw such a shocking sight. Other poor fellows had their legs taken off, and others their arms. It was a sad, sad sight, and made me truly thankful for the escapes I had had."

An officer belonging to one of the regiments that had mutinied in Oude, and who had joined General Havelock's force as a cavalry volunteer, writes thus from the camp:—"Yesterday we marched, knowing that we were to meet the enemy in force. We made the ordinary march, and bivouacked. The volunteer cavalry were posted on ahead to prevent surprise. I have written so far, and find I am really so done up I cannot write more: suffice it to say that we had a tremendous battle, and all had narrow escapes. The volunteer cavalry, eighteen in number, made a charge against hundreds—a very rash thing to do. The general said he was proud to command us. We took eight or nine guns. Altogether, it was a most gallant affair. Having bivouacked, we advanced in the afternoon. Our horses had not been unsaddled, and had little to eat. I must have ridden sixteen miles, and nothing but biscuit and wine—10 A.M. yesterday, now 5 P.M. You may fancy what the heat is on the march in the middle of the day—officers and men falling from sun-strokes. Yesterday's affair was a most gallant one, and the general may be proud

of all under him. The advance of the Europeans, with round shot and grape pouring into them, was most perfect. We came in for our share. We lost one of our volunteers in the charge, and I am going to attend his funeral this evening. His brother was with us, and it was sad to see the poor boy sobbing in the ranks, with his brother lying hacked all over within a few yards. The poor little fellow never asked to be allowed to leave the troop."

Another correspondent from the camp, says of the affair of the 16th:—"The fourth and last fight we had was about two miles out of Cawnpore, where we took seven large 24-pounder guns and howitzers. We had very severe firing from a battery of the enemy from 2 till 7 P.M., when we lost, in killed and wounded, about 150 Europeans and Sikhs. The loss of the enemy we cannot tell; but we afterwards came across a house where 300 sowars and sepoys lay wounded, and we saw a tank full of dead bodies. We had to encounter about 12,000 of the enemy with only 2,000 Europeans and Sikhs; the latter behaved most gallantry, and lost ten killed and wounded. The same evening of this affair we encamped outside of Cawnpore, and next morning we entered the town."

And here, if the pen was engaged solely in tracing the progressive incidents of civilised warfare, it might have sufficed to close for the present the pages that record the history of the recapture of Cawnpore, with the simple despatches of the victorious soldier by whose skill and energy that important station was recovered from the grasp of rebel domination; but the crowning atrocity that has distinguished the career of the malignant traitor who had exercised a brief but terrible authority within its blood-sprinkled walls, demands that the crimes of the Bithoor rajah should be recorded as a warning and a terror to mankind.

On the morning of the 17th of July, the victorious troops of General Havelock marched into the recaptured station of Cawnpore; from whence the following telegram was transmitted to the commander-in-chief, for the information of the governor-general:—

"Cawnpore Cantonment, July 17th.—By the blessing of God, I recaptured this place yesterday, and totally defeated Nana Sahib in person, taking more than six guns—four of siege calibre. The enemy was strongly posted behind a succession of villages, and obstinately disputed, for 140 minutes, every inch of the ground; but I was enabled, by a flank movement to my right, to turn his left, and this gave us the victory. Nana Sahib had barbarously murdered all the captive women and children before the engagement. He has retired to Bithoor; and blew up this morning, on his retreat, the Cawnpore magazine. He is said to be strongly fortified. I have not yet been able to get in the return of killed and wounded, but estimate my loss at about seventy, chiefly from the fire of grape."

The catastrophe briefly alluded to in the above telegram, is confirmed by subsequent notice in a despatch embodying the details of the action of the 16th. Of the fact there could be no doubt; but it was for others to dilate upon the horrible theme, of which, in this semi-official communication, General Havelock had foreshadowed the ghastly outline.

An investigation into the circumstances connected with the defeat of the rebels in front of Cawnpore on the 16th of July, elicited the horrible fact, that immediately upon the result of the action becoming known to Nana Sahib, the whole of the women and children detained by him, with such other Europeans as could be found secreted within the city, and several Bengalese residents who had become obnoxious to the Mohammedans by their connection with the Europeans, were put to death under circumstances of revolting barbarity. The courtyard of the building in which the females and children had been confined, appeared to have been the principal scene of slaughter; and when entered by our men, was covered, to the height of two inches, with blood, and with the tattered remains of female apparel. Of the whole number, amounting to upwards of 200 innocent and helpless women and children that had been confined in the Subada Kothee, not one remained alive at the close of that day.

Many among the noble band that, on the night of the 16th of July, had bivouacked upon the field of their triumph in front of Cawnpore, arose the next morning with joyous anticipations of the delight they were about to experience when, throwing open the gates of their prison-house, they should restore to liberty and their friends the helpless and innocent captives of a treacherous and cruel enemy. Their first thoughts that day were of "rescue;" and when the order to advance into the city